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HISTORICAL
EXAMINATION
OF THE
AUTHORITY
OF

General Councils,

SHEWING

The false dealing that hath been used
in the publishing of them ;

AND

The difference amongst the Papists themselves
about their Number.



L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Mortlock*, at the *Phœnix* in *St. Paul's*
Church-yard, and at the *White-Hart* in *Westminster-*
Hall, MDCLXXXVIII.



61-441,2

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THE chief Controversies between the Church of England and the Church of Rome have of late been managed to the best advantage on both sides. The more judicious seem to be satisfy'd, and others to be tired out with a close and eager debate of above two years continuance; all seem to be settled now, and fixed in their Principles, and every one sees, or thinks he sees on which side the Truth lies. I am confident all has been said for Popery that can be said, though I am not so well assured that much more might not have been said against it, which has been spared out of a regard to our common Christianity, and to Religion in general, besides the respect due to a great and gracious Prince of that Communion. But our Adversaries have not been wanting to their own Cause in this opportunity, nor in the least favourable to ours. At first, they would seem to be satisfied, if they could be truly represented, and rightly understood; but those colours were soon wiped off, and something must be done to blacken us, when they could not appear so lovely as they desired. Laborious attempts therefore have been made against the chief Points of the Reformation; against our Office of the Eucharist, against our Church-Government and Ordination, and all this by a Person who has been so little convinced by these Books, that while he had them by him, he liv'd in our Communion for many years, however now they come to ope-

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rate upon him: but if they have no speedier effect upon others than they have had upon him, they seem to be designed for the Conversion of the next Age, and indeed they hitherto have had but little success upon this. But I leave him to God and to his own Conscience, though the world may justly expect an Account from him, to shew that any thing has been ever said to give us a worse Representation of Popery than such a Practice may doe. 'Tis certain, nothing has been left unattempted which might blemish the Church of England in its Doctrine, or in its Discipline. And to give the Work its last and heroick Turn, and shame Men into a sense of Religion, and into a true Notion of the Catholick Church, Beasts have been made to dispute in the Magnificence of Verse above the ordinary capacities of Men, and if this fails to work upon a sullen and obstinate Age, nothing can ever doe it. Herein the Authour follows the wisdom of the Ancients, who were wont to instill their Doctrines by Fables and Allusions; but, as his manner is, he has mightily improv'd this way, beyond whatever the Ancients knew. For their Beasts were wont to speak as you would imagin Beasts to do, if they had the use of speech; but his Beasts are all Heroes, and exceed most Men that ever I met with. Æsop and Phædrus were content with Beasts as they found them; onely they made them prate after a brutish kind of Fashion. Horace's Brutes too were as unheroical Brutes as any of Æsop's, and Virgil himself could not advance his Beasts one pitch above their nature: no, his Monarch of the Bees did not, that I can understand, make one heroical Buz. But our Poet, to the confusion of Mankind, has made Brutes speak such rare things as no Man ever spoke, nor perhaps can understand.

Yet after all that has been said in Verse or in Prose against us, or in behalf of the Church of Rome, I am not convinced but that she is the same Church of Rome still, which she was an hundred years ago; nay, she would not be
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thought otherwise, that were as much as her Infallibility is worth. There is not the least concern of ours to discover the Church of Rome to be worse than she is now represented to be, but we should be glad if we were mistaken, and could find her so much altered for the better. It were inexcusable in us to dislike, or not to acknowledge any thing of a Reformation, which was carried on here by degrees, and we pray God to prosper any Beginnings of it in other Countries: but if the Church of France must be put upon us for the whole Roman-Catholick Church, and the Sentiments of some particular Men for the Doctrines of that Church; if we must be persuaded that all the varieties and diversities of Opinions in the Church of Rome have ever been infallibly the same, and that Italy will subscribe to what France shall dictate, or that even all or the greatest part of the Clergy of France will agree to the Bishop of Meaux's softnings and refinings; these are strange things and will not readily be admitted. France has indeed all the Learning of the Roman Communion confined in a manner within it self, and seems to set up for an Empire of Arts and Religion as well as of Arms, and that must needs pass for Catholick Doctrine that has so much Learning, and so many Legions to defend it. The Jesuits have a known distinction between the Popery of France and the Popery of Rome, as F. Cotton confessed in the Point of Allegiance: and they are of late much concerned for the Interest of the French Church, and for the Pope's infallibility even in matters of Fact at the same time, so that if at any time by the Power of France they can get a Pope of their Society, by virtue of a very convenient Doctrine, that the Pope may chuse his own Successour, they have at once an infallible and a perpetual Pope, and then the Jesuits Morals may be Gospel, though the present Pope has term'd them scandalous; but that may be scandalous at one time which is not so at another. [Suarez asserts; that the Pope may change the manner of Election.

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Election now in use, apud Carleton Curs. Theologic. Tom. Poster. Disputat. 22. Sect. 6.]

'Tis certain that Popery is carried on in all its heights even in France it self, and the Gallican Privileges betrayed by that very sort of Men who would now be thought the chief defenders of them. The Authour of a Book entituled, The Pernicious Consequences of the new Heresie of the Jesuits against the King and the State, published Febr. 1. MDCLXII. being an Advocate of Parliament, complains that the opinion of the Pope's infallibility had got ground in France, and that there was great likelihood of its spreading daily, it being the general opinion of the Jesuits, who are a vast Body diffused throughout all parts of the world, and have the Education of Youth wherever they come. Duvall endeavoured to introduce this Doctrine into the Sorbon, but attempted it warily, saying, that neither the one nor the other side of the Question is de fide. But though he was all his life in great favour at Rome, yet has he since been very ill treated by F. Raynaud a Jesuit at Lyons for his great caution and restraint in a matter of that importance. (p. 85, 86.) he shews that this Doctrine by degrees gained ground, till the Jesuits growing daily more insolent proceeded to that extravagant Thesis of the College of Clermont, wherein they dared to maintain publicly in the midst of Paris it self, and in the face of the Parliament, that Iesus Christ has given to all Popes, whenever they shall speak ex Cathedra, the same Infallibility himself had, as well in matters of Fact as of Right. Great care is taken to suppress all Books which thwart this Doctrine, and to publish and give credit to such as may insuse it. Baronius and his Continuator are the Authours for History chiefly in vogue, and these without coming near him in his Excellencies, infinitely surpass him in his Faults. He particularly observes Raynaldus to have been a Man without the Spirit of an Ecclesiastick, without style, without judgment, without sincerity,

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cerity, without credit, yet he had the boldness to dedicate his eighteenth Tome to the French Clergy, and presented it to the Assembly of the Clergy, 1660; and though this Doctrine of the Authority of Councils is every where styled Schismatical and Heretical, the Pragmatick Sanction vilified, the Council of Basil outraged, and all the Popes who possessed the See in Avignon during the Schism pronounced Antipopes, who are the onely Popes that France has acknowledged, though the most undefensible pretences of the Church of Rome are every where justified, yet all the disfavour or discouragement that Book met with was, that Raynaldus did not receive a Letter of thanks from the French Clergy, as he expected, but no Sentence being passed upon it, this silence, as my Authour observes, will be one day taken for a tacit approbation, and the Abettors of the Court of Rome believe with great reason that they have however gained a main point, since there has been nothing positively done against such a Work presented to the whole Clergy, besides the advantage gained by having such Books received and read without prohibition, that may instill those Principles, (p. 94, &c.) whereas the Episcopal Decrees of the Bishops of France have been treated by the Bishops of Rome to that degree of indignity as to be ranged among the condemned Books, without vouchsafing either to clear it with the Bishops before Censure, or to render them any Account of what they thought amiss afterwards, (p. 71.)

After all the hideous outeries against Richerius, when he requested of a certain Bishop, one of Cardinal Perron's intimate Friends, that he might have a fair hearing, and liberty allow'd him to offer what he had to say in defence of his Book de Ecclesiastica Potestate, the Bishop freely told him, that he had made himself so many Enemies, not by writing Errors but too plain and displeasing Truths, that though there was nothing could be disproved in his

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Book, yet the Church-men had much rather have their sole dependence on the Pope, than to have the perpetual trouble and dissatisfaction of appearing before Secular Judges. (Richer. Pref. ad Conc. Gen.) The Pope promised the D. of Espernon a Cardinalship for his Son, if he would deliver him Richerius into the Inquisition; whereupon he was thrust into Prison: but the whole University of Paris interceded for him to the Parliament, and upon a full hearing he was released: but the Pope recompensed the Duke's good will with the promised reward to his Son. And when Richelieu requested a red Hat of Urban the Eighth, for his Brother, Richerius's retractation was the price must be paid for it. The Apostolick Notary comes to Paris and is entertained by F. Joseph a Capuchin, who having left his Convent then lived in the City. This F. Joseph was Richelieu's Confessor, and was employ'd by him to prepare all business first, and then to bring it to him. Butillerius Pater, & Josephus Capucinus negotia cruda accipiunt, cocta ad Cardinalem deferunt. (Grot. Lett. 375. Par. 1.) In Easter Week, an acquaintance of F. Joseph's, one of the Sorbon, and a great Friend, as he pretended, to Richerius, is sent to the good Man to invite him in F. Joseph's name to dinner, that so he might give his opinion in a point of Controversie. Richerius excused it, saying he never frequented Feasts, but he would wait upon him after Dinner, but being pressed to come, not to be uncivil, he comply'd. As soon as Dinner was done, a Question was designedly mov'd, concerning the Pope's Authority, of which when Richerius discoursed, modestly, as his manner was, F. Joseph tells him, now, says he, you must either retract your Book, which you formerly writ, de Ecclesiastica & Politica Potestate, or die for it: at that certain Russians rushed forth armed from behind the Hangings, and threatned to murder him: in this dreadful surprize, the poor old Man subscribed a Retractation ready prepared and drawn up for

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for him, and immediately was carried home: where, when he considered what he had done, he wrote this Account of the business to his Friend Morisotus, lamenting extremely his own timorousness and fainting under this Calamity so much more grievous than Death to him, he had scarce sealed his Letter, but flinging himself upon his Bed, he dy'd. (Claudii Barthol. Morisoti Epist. ad Carelum in fin. Vindic. Doctr. &c. Rich. lib. 4. p. 100.) How little better Launoy fared, is sufficiently known from an Account of his Life, lately printed at London.

Whilst these are the proceedings against the Advocates for the Gallican Church, its Adversaries are encouraged, and their Works in high esteem. The Abridgment of the Councils by Coriolanus was printed at Paris, and revised by a Dr. of the Faculty, though all the contrary Maxims to the Doctrine of the Gallican Church, are set at the beginning of the Book as so many Catholick Doctrines. And the Councils are published by men devoted to the Pope: for the Jesuites have ever had the Government of the Royal Press; and in printing the Councils have left in the Life of Boniface the Eighth, these outrageous words, as the Advocate justly terms them, against all France, Philippum Pulchrum Gallicæ Regem justè excommunicavit, and this printed at the King's House, at his own Charges, (New Heresie, p. 100.) Nor is there the least intimation given that that Pope exceeded his Authority, when he threatned to depose him, (vit. Bonif. Octavi, Tom. 28. pag. 676.) And though Cossartius takes notice that Binius was mistaken in saying, Philip was justly excommunicated, whereas he was not indeed at all excommunicated, yet is not one word said, but that he might deserve to be excommunicated, or any thing to the contrary, but that the Pope did very well in threatning him with Deposition, (Conc. Labbé, Tom. 2. part. 2. p. 1389.)

The judicious Advocate abovementioned, foresaw what was to be expected from this last Edition of the Councils,

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which was then in hand, for Labbé had caused a Draught of the Work to be printed, and I am apt to think, that through this Authour's Complaint the Council of Basil had more right done it than otherwise it would have had. But the Treatises prefix't in the Apparatus are such as quite overthrow the Gallican Privileges, and the Doctrines peculiar to that Church. For Cardinal Jacobatius, de Conciliis, sets himself purposely to prove the Superiority of the Pope to a Council, and answers all Objections against it, (lib. 10. p. 519. in Appar. Concil. Labbé:) and in plain terms denies the Authority of the Decrees of Constance; and making use of those known Evasions, that these Decrees were to take place onely in the times of Schism between two contending Popes, or in case of Herefie, or that it was no general Constitution, but limited to the present exigency of Affairs; in short, he denies that any Constitution of a Council can bind the Pope, because he has no Superiour but God; and so in all points he palpably contradicts the Doctrine of the French Church, (p. 536.) Paulus Fabulottus, de Potestate Papæ supra Concilium, proves his Tenets by all manner of Arguments from Scripture, from Reason, from History, from Fathers and from Councils; and in his fifth Chap. where he shews the Pope's Superiority from Councils, he shews particularly that the French ought not to except against the Authority of the last Council of the Lateran, because they acknowledge its Authority in enjoying the Privileges granted them in the Bull of Leo the Tenth, which confirmed it; and it is unreasonable, says he, that they should allow it when it makes for their advantage, and reject it in other matters, (Fabulott. ib. p. 69, 70.) He pretends to shew that Martin the Fifth did by his Bull retract the Decrees of the Fourth and Fifth Sessions of Constance, made, says he, in Schism, by appointing the Question to be put to all suspected of Herefie, An credant Romanum Pontificem in Dei Ecclesia supremam habere Potestatem?

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“Whether they believe that the Pope has supreme Power in the Church of God? And so turns the Council of Constance upon the French, (ib.) In a word, he concludes, that whoever persists obstinately in the contrary Opinion, against so many Councils, (for he produces no fewer than ^{six}, whereof that of Constance is the second) must needs be an Heretick. He particularly answers the Objections brought from the Council of Constance in the usual manner; as for the Council of Basil, he says, all Catholicks confess it was not a lawfull Council, when it defied Councils to be above the Pope. At last he concludes with admiration, that any one should, to the destruction of his Soul, be so perverse as to call in question so certain a Truth, established on so strong Arguments and so great Authorities. Caranza maintains the Popes Infallibility, and says, it was never doubted of till the Councils of Constance and Basil. (Controver. 3. p. 112. in Appar. Labbet.) He spends his fourth Controversie in shewing, against these two Councils, that Pope’s are against General Councils. Petrus de Monte in his Monarchia, runs as high as any of the rest, and, to make a Pope a complete Monarch, exempts the Clergy from the Obedience, and their Possessions from the Dominions of temporal Princes. (in Appar. p. 155.) But Jacobatius, if it be possible, goes beyond this. For he maintains the Deposing Power, and affirms, that the Pope alone may depose Emperours and Kings, and whomsoever he pleases, and particularly the King of France, and this without the advice and concurrence of his Cardinals; he makes no doubt of his deposing Power, the only Question is, whether he can doe it alone without his Cardinals, and he determines in the Affirmative, (ibid. pag. 329.) so little regard is to be had to that which is esteemed the Doctrine of the French Church, and which some would have us think is the Roman-Catholick Doctrine; and the Doctrine against the Pope’s Infallibility, the Sententia Parisiensium, as it is called

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called in contempt, is every where decryed even in Paris it self.

The Jesuits at Cologne laid down this Rule, In Censura Colonienfi, fol. 132. If any Man examin the Doctrine of the Pope by the Rule of God's Word, and seeing that it is different, chance to contradict it, let him be rooted out with Fire and Sword, (Walsh Irish Remonstr. Treat. 4. p. 61.) And both the Clergy and People of the Roman Communion in Ireland generally hold the Pope's Infallibility, being influenced by the Jesuits. as they are in most places. Insomuch that in MDCLXVI. they refused to sign the three last of the six Propositions which the Sorbon in MDCLXIII. had presented to the most Christian King, and to apply them as they did the first three, to his Majesty of Great Britain, and His Subjects, though they contain nothing but an Assertion of the King's Prerogatives, and a Denial of the Pope's Infallibility, (Irish Remon. Treat. 3. p. 23.) and Treat. 4. p. 58.) This we are told by One who is an Advocate for Popish Loyalty, and it is confessed by Another who made it the Business of his Life to write against the Deposing Doctrine, that this is the Doctrine most generally received amongst those of that Communion. [Neque quenquam movere debet, ut aliàs observavi, (in Apol. num. 4. 49. ut citatur in margine,) quod opinio hæc, quæ Summo Pontifici hanc potestatem tribuit, communio sit quàm opposita, plurèsq; Doctores eam sequantur, &c.] (Widrington, Discuss. Discussionis Præf.) So little security have we that Popery is the same thing in France that it is at Rome and in other Popish Countries, or that the Bishop of Meaux's Exposition is good Popery, even in Paris it self. But that which is the Doctrine generally taught, we are often told by the Guide, is equivalent to the Definitions of a General Council, inasmuch as no Council can be known to be general, nor consequently to teach true Doctrine, but by the Reception it meets

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meets with from the Church, and so the Misrepresenters will be found to be those that soften and palliate Popery, contrary to the sense of the most of that Communion.

I am sure Cardinal Poole and his Synod at Lambeth, MDLVI. were for Popery as it is at Rome, they did not content themselves to fetch it from France. For they receive the Bulla Cœnæ, equalling its Authority even to the Decrees of General Councils and Apostolical Traditions; and they profess to own the full extent of Power attributed to the Pope by the Council of Florence, (Decret. 2.) and they quote it in the usual form, Quemadmodum etiam in gettis OEcumenicorum Conciliorum & in Sacris Canonibus continetur; not, Quemadmodum &c. as we are now taught to read it according to the true Translation, (vid. Wallh Lett. to the Bishop of Lincoln. p. 274.) if such a nicety will make any material difference; and this was done by Cardinal Poole, by virtue of his Legantine Power in a Provincial Synod.

However, the constant Appeal now is from the Sentiments of Private Men and particular Synods, to the Definitions of General Councils, which are appealed to with as much confidence, as if not one of them had ever been suspected or called in question, but were all of undoubted Authority, whereas there is indeed nothing more suspected, than the credit of most of them, and the chief Tenets of Popery will be found to have but little Authority from General Councils; The Worship of Images will stand in great need of the second Council of Nice; and Transubstantiation, Auricular Confession, &c. will want support from the fourth of the Lateran; and, in short, it will be almost as difficult to defend the Councils brought to authorize them, as to defend the Doctrines themselves. I think I have made it evident that this Argument from the Authority of Councils will be as unsuccessful as all other Arguments have hitherto proved: for it is a vain thing to attempt by any means

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means the Defence of a Cause which will not be defended.

But in my Opinion the famous Mr. Schellstrate has gone the farthest towards the finding out an Expedient which may be of equal force in all Controversies. For in the year MDCLXXXV. he put out a Book intituled, Dissertatio Apologetica de Disciplina Arcani against Ernestus Tentzelius, a Lutheran Divine, in defence of his Commentaries upon the second Canon of the Council of Antioch. In this Book he shews, that the Church concealed her Doctrines a long time, and that the stream of Tradition, like some Rivers, ran for a great way under ground, till at last it broke out and discovered it self in this Age or that Council. If you enquire why we read nothing of Transubstantiation in Ancient Authours. The Answer is very easie and ready; Disciplina Arcani: (p. 150, 151.) Why the Fathers did not assert the Worship of Images? Disciplina Arcani: (p. 124.) Why the Doctrine of the Trinity was not clearly taught before the Council of Nice? Disciplina Arcani: (p. 105,—17.) Why we have no Accounts of the Seven Sacraments before the seventh Century? Disciplina Arcani: (p. 104,—106.) Why the Writings of St. Denys the Areopagite lay so long concealed? Disciplina Arcani: (p. 120.) And so for any Novelty else Disciplina Arcani still returns upon you, and it is so great a Charm, that some would be almost afraid of it, for it has a strange faculty of making every thing look aged that it can but come near. This Disciplina Arcani is an occult Quality to salve all Difficulties by, and say what you will, prove what you will, these two Emphatical Words shall bear down all before them. And, I am persuaded, the following Considerations will stand out against any Attack but that of Disciplina Arcani.

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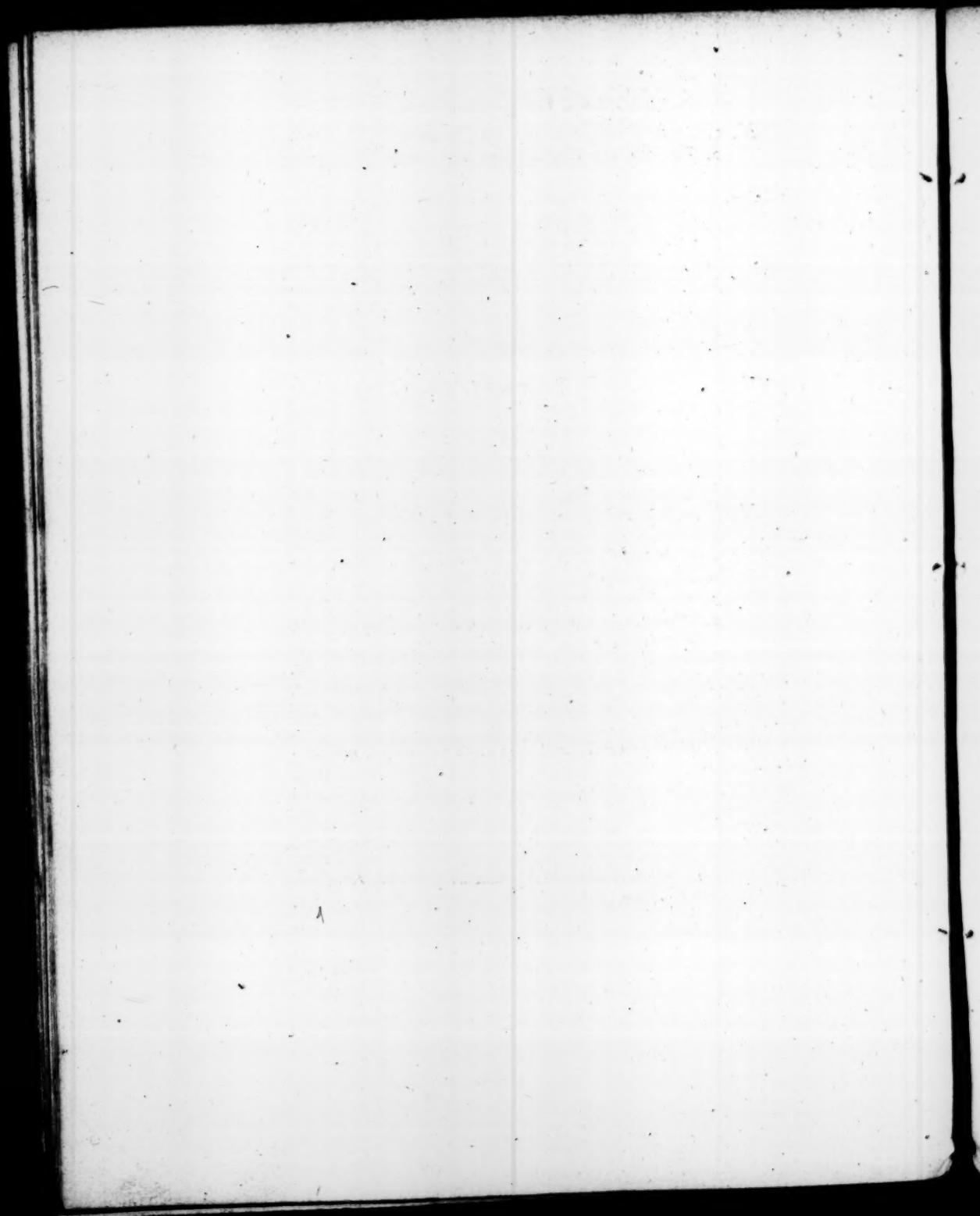
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AN HISTORICAL
EXAMINATION
OF
The Authority
OF
COUNCILS.

I Design two Things: First, To shew the false dealing that has been used in putting forth the Councils. Secondly, To shew that Papists are not agreed in the Authority of them as they are put forth.

PART I.

The false dealing that has been used in putting forth the Councils; And this, 1. By putting forth those that are wholly forged: 2. By suppressing those that are genuine. 3. By depraving those that are genuine, which they have not thought fit to suppress.

§ 1. By putting forth those that are forged. Of this number is the Synod pretended to have been held at *Antioch* by the Apostles, The eighth Canon whereof is produced for the Worship of Images; and the Council of *Sinnessa* brought by *Bellarmin* to prove the Pope above a General Council; which notwithstanding

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* De Conc.
lib. 2. c. 17.

* Vid. Rob.
Coci Censu-
ram quot un-
dam Scripto-
rum vers. fi-
nem.

* Hist. Conc.
Gen. l. 1. p. 36.

standing the improbability that three hundred and three Bishops^a could meet together under *Diocletian*, and many other Inconsistencies, yet must stand upon record, as an authentick Council. The two Councils held at *Rome* under *Silvester I.* brought to establish the Pope's Authority, and the last of them to warrant many other Points of Popery, as *Chrim*, the Cœlibacy of the Clergy, &c. Though they have been detected of manifest Forgery^{*}, yet retain as good a Place in the Body of the Councils as ever; only the last Canon of the second *Roman* Council was so palpable, that though it be very honourable for the Pope, yet *Labbe* could not but remark that perhaps it might be forged by *Isidore Mercator*; or at least, that the expression [*à Regibus*] was thrust in. To pass by the Acts of the Council of *Nice* and the eighty *Arabick* Canons, which some are willing to impose upon us for genuine, and quote them upon occasion; though *Baronius* confesses the Acts supposititious, and all Historians testify that the *Nicene* Fathers made but twenty Canons: To pass by these and the early Fraud and inexcusable Mistake of putting the *Sardican* Canons into the number of the *Nicene*, to warrant the Right of Appeals to *Rome*, as well as the many Contentts, about forged Acts, that have been between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, which shall be enquired into when we come to the Case of *Photius*: To mention, I say, no more of this kind; The *Decretal* Epistles, which cannot be denyed to have been forged, and imposed upon the World by *Isidore Mercator*, yet have not lost their place among the Councils, but stand there, as if they expected some second *Turrianus* to defend them: for unless more credit were designed them by it than they deserve, 'tis unaccountable why they should be suffered to take up so much room, which might be better filled. I conclude this particular with the observation of *Richerius*^b upon occasion of the Forgery of an Epistle from the Council of *Nice* to Pope *Silvester*, to desire his confirmation, *Equidem cum maximo animi mœnore dicere cogor nullos extare libros, in quibus tot tantæque fœlitiæ & adulterina scripta quàm in Tomis Conciliorum legantur, &c.* "Indeed I am forced to say with exceeding great grief of mind, that there are "no Books, in which there are so many and so egregiously counterfeited and spurious writings, as may be read in the Tomes of "the Councils.

§ II. By

§ II. By suppressing Councils that are genuine. The first and second Councils of *Pisa* are omitted by all the Collectors of Councils before *Labbé*, and the Acts of the second Council are omitted by him too: though the Council of *Constance* was but a Continuation of the first *Pisan* Council; and the second being owned by the *French* in derogation to the last of *Lateran* was published out of the *French* King's Library with the former, by the special privilege of his most Christian Majesty, *A. MDCXII.* And though *Labbé* thinks fit to excuse the omission by saying, that the Acts and Apology of this pretended Council [*Conciliabulum Pisanum*] were collected by Schismatics and Hereticks, and published under a false name; and that *Lewis* the Twelfth, in *MDXIII.* called it onely a pretended Council, and denied it all favour and assistance, yet the Royal Approbation of this Edition, and the exact agreement of all these Acts with the Acts of the same Council, as we find them in *Richerius*, is a sufficient evidence against the imputation of Forgery; neither need they have been so very scrupulous upon this Head, who have themselves inserted *Canons* and *Synodical Rescripts* which they acknowledge to be spurious, but a Lye when it makes for them, shall pass with a gentle Censure; whereas Truth, when it makes against them, shall be stifled, if any thing like an Excuse can be brought to palliate their proceedings.

As to *Lewis* the Twelfth, there is this to be said; That he was engaged in a War with *Julius* the Second, the *Venetians* and the *Spaniards* at the same time, and gained a memorable Victory at *Ravenna* over their united Forces; but the *English* setting upon him at home, he was forced notwithstanding to give over in *Italy*, in *MDXIII.* and so 'tis not unlikely, that, to reconcile himself to the Pope, he might then send that message; but it is manifest from the Acts themselves and the Letters printed at the End of them, that from the beginning of the Council to that time, he could be no Friend either to the Pope or to his Council. The same Year *Julius* dyes, and *Leo* the Tenth succeeds. A Peace being concluded with *England*, and *Lewis* taking in Marriage *Mary*, Sister to *Henry* the Eighth, he prepares for War again in *Italy*, but dyes in *MDXV.* From whence it evidently appears which Council *Lewis* was most for, and for what Reason he disclaimed the Council of *Pisa*.

* Rich. Hist.
Conc. Gen.
lib. III. c. 6.

* Cossart.
Eras. ad Conc.

* New Here-
sie of the Je-
suites, p. 140.

Concilium de-
lectorum Car-
dinalium &
aliorum Pra-
latorum de e-
mendanda Ec-
clesia, S. D.
N. P. Paulo Tertio, ipso jubente, conscriptum & exhibitum, Anno MDXXXVIII.

The Council of *Basil* is wholly left out in the *Roman* Edition as spurious, and was left out by Cardinal *Bellarmin's* Advice, as *Richerius* ^c was informed by those who were well acquainted with him: *Quod inceptum facinus quidem*, says *Richerius*, *est absolutâ dignum Monarchiâ Curia Romanæ, cui propositum est, quod jure non potest, id viâ facti consequi*; "Which Action of theirs is worthy of the absolute Monarchy of the Court of *Rome*, which is resolved to obtain that in fact, that they cannot defend in right. And it is remarkable that *Sirmondus* was the Publisher of this Edition; ^d a man so much suspected at *Rome* for too great Integrity, that he was not allowed free access to their MSS. In the first Draught of the Councils put out by *Labbé*, the Council of *Basil* was styled onely *Concilium Basiliense*, whereas in *Binius* 'tis intituled *Concilium OEcumenicum ex parte reprobatum*, though in the same Draught he gave the Title of *OEcumenical* to that of *Florence*, and to the last of the *Lateran*; but perhaps the Complaint that was then made of it by an Advocate of Parliament in a Book intituled, *The pernicious Consequences of the New Heresie of the Jesuites*, might give occasion to the alteration in the Title of the Council of *Basil*; for we have it now printed as it is in *Binius*. But, as that Authour observes ^e, all means have been used to discredit the Council of *Basil*, insomuch that a List of the General Councils at the Beginning of the Epitome of Canon-law, by *Antonius Augustinus*, has been falsified, by leaving out the Council of *Basil*, which that Learned Archbishop had inserted among the rest, as may be seen: for after these words, *Constantiense sub Martino quinto*, there follows in the falsified Editions, *Florentinum sub eodem*, which is ridiculous, the Council of *Florence* not having been held under *Martin the Fifth*: but it sufficiently shews how the uncorrupted Copies were, viz. after that of *Constance*, *Basiliense sub Eugenio*, and then *Florentinum sub eodem*. The *Concilium Delectorum Cardinalium*, which was preparatory to the Council of *Trent*, and may well be reckoned a part of it, yet could never be admitted among the Councils since *Crabbe's* Edition, in MDLL since it is not in two other of his Editions; though *William Crashaw* particularly complained of the omission

in a printed Letter to *Binius*, and afterwards reprinted it himself, and it has been since published twice at *Paris*, once with the two Councils of *Pisa*, &c. MDCLII. and again lately with some pieces of *Clemanges*, *Durandus de modo celebrandi Concilii*, &c. But because that Council too fully sets forth what great necessity there was of a Reformation in *capite & membris*, it has been excluded all the Editions of Councils since *Crabbe's* time.

*Ad Severinum Binium Lovanien-
sem Theologum Epistola Commonito-
ria super Conciliorum Generalium
Editione ab ipso nuper adornata, &c.
Londini, MDCXXIV.*

§ III. 1. By depraving the Councils which are Genuine. And here we have reason to suspect much more than has hitherto been discover'd: for in the *Vatican* Library there have been certain men employ'd onely to transcribe Acts of the Councils, and Copies of the Fathers works, and in transcribing to imitate the ancient Copies as near as is possible, as Dr. *James* of *Oxford* was informed by a Gentleman, who saw them at this work in the *Vatican*, and profer'd to make oath of it, if need was. It has been long ago observed, that the last Editions of the Councils are always the worst, so that Dr. *Whitaker* made it his earnest request to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that there might be some order taken for the preserving of *Crabbe's* Edition, which he foresaw would never be printed again: and Dr. *James* shews that *Crabbe* himself is not without corruptions, which made him complain that no Protestant had put forth an Edition of the Councils, or set himself to rectify the Errours of Popish Editions; but he says Dr. *Ward* Master of *Sidney* College in *Cambridge* was then about it.

Tho. James
Treat. of the
Corrupt. of
Script. &c.
in Append.
to the Rea-
der.

James ibid.
p. 102.

2. 'Tis certain the *Indices Expurgatorii* reach MSS. as well as printed Books^a, and 'tis as certain^b that the Inquisitours of several places cannot agree among themselves, but *Arias Montanus*, who was himself a chief Inquisitour in the *Low-Countries* has his own Books put into the *Roman Index*, so that no body can tell whether this expedient of Purgation may come at last, or how far it has already come: it is but mangling the old MSS. and then counterfeiting them in a new Transcription, and the MSS. will all speak as they would have them. *Ludovicus Surinus* shewed *Junius*^{*} what depravations he was to make in the Edition of *St. Ambrose*, and assur'd him that it would be the worst and most corrupt Edition of that Father. And we cannot won-

^a *Possevin.*
Bibliothec.
lib. 1. c. 12.
^b *James In-*
dex Lib. Pro-
hibit. à Ponti-
fici.

^{*} *Jun. Pref.*
ad Ind. Ex-
purg.

der.

¹ *Com. de Eu-
char. Harm.
lib. 3. in prin-
cipio.*

² *W. Crashaw's
Romish Forg.
Pref.*

³ *James My-
stery of the
Ind. Exp.
p. 22.*

^m *Crashaw
ibid.*

der if these practices had a great share in the motives to the conversion of *Henricus Buxhornius*¹, who before was one of the principal Expurgators. For some time these *Indices Expurgatorii*² were a great Mystery, and the *English* Papists would not believe, but it was some trick of *Beza's* or *Junius's* to disgrace the Catholick Cause. ¹ The *Index Expurgatorius* of *Antwerp* was by chance first discover'd by *Junius*, those of *Spain* and *Portugal* were never known till the taking of *Cales*, and the *Roman Index* was procured not without much difficulty. After all these discoveries they could no longer complain of being misrepresented; though our *English* Papists were so backward in believing this part of Popery, that ^m *Crashaw* was forced to be at the trouble of procuring two Editions of *Fernus* upon *St. John*, one that had undergone the *Index*, and another that was printed before the invention of *Indices*, to convince them.

3. Let us now see what exploits have been done by these Arts: The Discoveries of *Crashaw*, and *Coke*, and *Reynolds*, but especially of *James*, in this kind will never be forgotten, and so need not repeating, any farther than they concern the Councils, to which I shall confine my self, and shew, that very material passages in them have been mangled or wholly omitted. 'Tis very well known what attempts have been made to give us various Readings of the sixth Canon of *Nice* to procure the Pope's Supremacy, and that for the same reason the fifth Canon of the second General Council, and the twenty eighth of *Chalcedon* have been rejected and branded as spurious. All the Editions of Councils bear*, that *St. Cyrill* did preside in the Council of *Ephesus* as Pope *Celestine's* Deputy, against the Authority of the Translation of *Dionysius Exiguus*, and the *Greek MSS.* as Dr. *James* witnesseth. But this is not the onely forgery we meet withall in this Council. * For in the Epistle of *Celestine* to that Council, in the Edition of *Theodorus Peltanus*, it runs thus: "We have sent *Arcadius* and *Projectus* Bishops, and *Philip* a Presbyter to you, &c. who having taken our care upon themselves, shall be present at your Acts, and shall confirm your Decrees by their suffrage, and we doubt not but your Holiness will admit them to give their Votes, and to a common consent; and let whatsoever you shall decree be looked upon as definitively and decrees made for the common tranquillity of the Church. ^b *Misimus ad vos Arcadium & Projectum Episcopos, & Philippum*

* *James Cor-
rupt. of
Script. &c.
p. 91.*

• *Richer.
Hist. Conc.
Gen. lib. 1.
c. 7. § 9.*

• *Ephes. Cor.
A.H. 2.*

Philippum Presbyterum, &c. qui nostra in se cura suscepta, Actis vestris intererunt, quaque à vobis sunt constituta suo calculo denuò confirmabunt, non dubitamus autem quin sanctitas vestra illos ad communem consensum sententiaeque dictionem sit admissura; qua verò de creveritis, ea pro omnium Ecclesiarum tranquillitate habeantur definiti decretaque. And with this Edition of *Pelcanus* agrees that of *Antonius Continus*, though his be a different Version: whereas the Roman Edition has it thus: "We have in our solicitude [for the peace of the Church] directed our holy Brethren and fellow Priests, &c. *Arcadius* and *Proiectus*, &c. who may be present, when every thing is done, and who may execute those things, which have been before decreed by us; to whom we doubt not but your Holiness will give your Assent, since what is done seems to be decreed for the security of the Universal Church." ^{c Edit. Rom. Part. 2.}
^{Act. 3.} *Diraximus pro nostra sollicitudine sanctos Fratres & Consecratos nostros, &c. Arcadium & Proiectum, &c. qui iis qua aguntur inter-sint, & qua antea à nobis sunt statuta exequantur; quibus praestandum à vestra sanctitate non dubitamus assensum, quando id quod agitur videtur pro Universalis Ecclesiae securitate decretum.* And according to the Roman Edition is the Greek of *Hieronymus Comelinus*, *An. MDXCI.* and all the Editions of the Councils ever since the Roman. It is very pleasant to observe that *Binus* in his Notes upon the Council of *Chalcedon*, quotes the Sentence against *Dioscorus* to prove the Pope's Supremacy, and that it might be sure to make for his purpose, he quotes it otherwise than it is printed in his own Edition, which though Mr. *Crashaw* gave notice of it in his Letter to *Binus*, yet remains unaltered still in *Labbé's* Edition. *Pithæus* finds ^d fault with *Surius* for omitting the Acts of that debate, which (after the fourth General Council of C. P. was concluded and subscribed) arose between ^{e De Process. Sp. Sancti, P. 35.} the Eastern Patriarchs and the Popes Legates concerning the Right of ordaining the Archbishop of Bulgaria, *cujus altercationis non contemnenda Acta à Laur. Surio viro aliqui & diligentie & fidei multae in postrema conciliorum Editione praetermissa fuisse, non injuria mereor & doleo: sic enim sentio, quod bonà omnium venià dictum velim, Christianam veritatem, quae Deum autorem ac vindicem habet, suâ simplicitate contentam non indigere illis artibus, quae nec in humanis quidem actionibus bonus vir ac probus facile admiserit: and if he had lived to this day, he would have made the same or greater complaints: For *Binus* and *Labbé* will scarce pass for*

for honefter men than *Surius* in this or in any other cafe.

4. But to come lower, where we may expect a more exact account of things. In the Council of *Bafil*, the famous * *Lindwood* made an Appeal upon account of the Temporalities of our Kings. The like Appeal was made by *Thomas* Bishop of *Worcester*, ſent thither in Commiſſion from the King, and by *Peter Partridge*, Chancellor of *Lincoln*, in the name of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and of the whole Clergy of the Land, all which is omitted by the Publiſhers of the Councils, and not put into the very laſt Edition, though Dr. *James* had taken notice of the omiſſion. I need not mention the Decree which *Caranza* has beſtowed upon the Council of *Florence*, to introduce the Apocrypha into the number of Canonical Books of Scripture, though he † is not the only man that has made uſe of this Artifice, which they are now indeed aſhamed of, as men always are of Impoſtures, when they are once diſcovered; yet ſtill *Caranza* is the Authour readieſt at hand; and is as conſtant a ſupply for Councils as the *Breviaries* are for *Fathers*. But I ſhall wave all other Inſtances, and haſten to the Council of *Trent*, which gave the finiſhing hand to all the reſt, and is it ſelf no very eminent example of fair dealing. I take it to be no more an Inſtance of the Sincerity than of the Infallibility of that Council, that the *Tridentine* Fathers durſt not truſt the World with a view of their Acts; and all the accounts we have had from private hands have been very little for its credit: The Hiſtory of *Palavicini* has juſtly been ſaid to be more prejudicial to the Council than that of Father *Paul*; for the latter only ſhews how much is to be ſaid againſt it, whereas the former demonſtrates how little can be offered in its defence. But not to inſiſt upon this; who would ſuſpect that the little Book of the Canons and Decrees of the Council of *Trent* might not be allowed us entire? ‡ yet in the *French* Edition published at *Paris* MDLXIV. by *Gentianus Hervetus*, as ſoon as he came from the Council, and in the *Antwerp* Edition the ſame year, Cardinal *Morone*, the Pope's Legate, concludes the Council in theſe words, *Placuit omnibus Patribus finem huic ſacro Concilio imponi, confirmationemque à Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro peti, tribus duntaxat exceptis, qui confirmationem ſe non petere dixerunt: ideòque nos Apoſtolica ſedis Legati & Præſidentes eidem ſacro Concilio finem imponimus: confirmationem verò quamprimùm à ſanctiſſimo Domino noſtro petemus. Vos autem Illuſtriſſimi & Reverendiſſimi Patres, poſt gratias Deo actas,*

* *Coci Geſſu-
ra*, p. 245.

§ *Vid. Riche-
rium, lib. 4.
part. 2. Hiſt.
Gen. Conc.*

PART II.

§ I. **P**apists are not agreed in the Authority of Councils; I mean, they are not agreed what Councils are General, and what are not so. They differ as much about the Councils, as they do about the Notes of the Church. For as *Costerus* assigns three, *Coccinus* five, *Bellarmin* fifteen, *Boxius* an hundred Notes: so some assign more, some fewer General Councils, though the common computation proceeds no higher than to eighteen, of such as are without exception. As the seventh and eighth General Councils were not a long time received into the *Professions of Faith*, (which I shew in the seventh) so the number of Councils recited in those *Professions* not exceeding eight, as is manifest by those *Professions* in the *Diurnus Romanus* published by *Garnerius* shew, that eight onely were looked upon as truly General, and the rest not as of equal Authority. Cardinal *Contarenus*, in his short account of Councils written to *Paul* the Third, and presented to him on his calling the Council of *Trent* (or that of the delegated Cardinals in order to it, he being one of the number) reckons that for the eighth General Council, which deposed *Phorinus*, and the Council of *Florence* for the ninth, not so much as naming any of the *Lateran* Councils but the last, and not esteeming either this or that of *Lyons* under *Gregory* the Tenth, nor that of *Constance* or *Basil* General, though he does name them^m. Cardinal *Pole*, with his Synod at *Lambeth* under *Paul* the Fourth *A. D.* MDLVI. calls the Council of *Florence*, the eighth General Council, though they own the fourth *Lateran* under *Innocent* the Third for General; as they doe likewise the fifth *Lateran*ⁿ. They mention the fourth of *Lateran* frequently, and never but under the Title of a General Council, and that of *Lyons* under *Gregory* the Tenth, they mention under the same Character^o. *Abraham Cretensis*, the first Publisher of the Council of *Florence*, gives it the Title of the eighth General Council, and so the Approbation of *Clement* the Seventh prefix'd to that Edition styles it, and so Cardinal *Pole* with his Clergy account it: So that this was the opinion of the Members^p of the Council, and of the first Publishers of it, and of our *English* Clergy in *Queen Mary's* Reign, whereas in the common account, (new style,) the Council of *Florence* is the Sixteenth; *Martin* gives us but eight

^m Contarenus
Sum. Conc. E-
dit. Venet.
MDLXII.

ⁿ Decret. 2.

^o Decret. 3.

^p Launoy E-
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^a *Roccha*, in his Explications, reckons the Council of *Vienne* the fifteenth, and then proceeds to the Council of *Florence*, which he calls the eighteenth, as it is indeed computing the two intermediate Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, but *Sixtus Quintus* thought fit to take no notice of them in the *Vatican*, but *Roccha* makes them up a full Score, though the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* be onely supposed, not expressed in the number. So many differing accounts we have concerning the number of General Councils; to which may be added one more, by taking in the Council of *Arles*, as it ought to be in *St. Augustine's* opinion, and in the opinion of *Lanoy*, *Albaspinaus*, *Marca*, *Labbe*, *Sirmondus* and others ^r; in which Council the Bishop of *Arles* presided to examine the Cause of the *Donatists*, which had been before determined by the Bishop of *Rome* and his Synod; they confirmed the Judgment past at *Rome*, but would have as certainly nulled it, if the Sentence had been wrong. The two latter Editions of the Councils for awhile continue the Tale of them, and the last continues it longer than the Royal Edition does, but afterwards they break off, and cease numbering, onely giving us them as they come: which may be a farther evidence how little certainty and exactness there is in any thing that relates to a Catalogue of General Councils. It seems then we are at last reduced to that notable Expedient which is said to have been in a late Preachment proposed about the Sacraments; *If we must have Councils, my Beloved, let us take the greatest number, and then we are sure to have all*: and so for the largest Bible, and the largest Creed, that we may be sure to have enough of whatever it be. But because *Bellarmin's* number of Councils seems to be most in vogue, I shall consider his eighteen, which he assures us, are all over Infallible, and fully approved, whereas there are half a dozen that have had the ill luck not to pass muster, though they are pretty tolerable in the main, and we must take part, and leave part, as the Popes have thought fit; but there is a third sort so abominable, that they are utterly condemned.

^a Angelus Roccha, de Biblioth. Vatican. p. 209.

^r Lanoy confirmat. dissert. de vera plenarii Concilii ap. Augustin. natione, p. 96.

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The second
Gen. Council
at *Constanti-*
nop. circa A.D.
CCCLXXXI. se-
cundum Ri-
cher. part. 1.

c. 5. p. 169.

† *Lib. 2. de*

Rom. Pontif.

c. 18.

* *In Diatriba*

de Conc. 6, &

7. p. 279.

† *In Summa*

Concil.

The fourth
Gen. Council
at *Chalced.*
circa An. D.
CCCL. Ri-
cher. part. 1.

c. 8. p. 333.

* *De Pin dif-*
sert. 1. p. 57.

The fifth Ge-
neral Coun-
cil held at

C. P. An. Do.

DLIII.

* *Baluz. No-*

va. Collect.

Conc. Tom. 1.

col. 1546.

§ II. I shall examin what agreement there is amongst Papists concerning the Authority of the several approved General Councils. And here we need not go far. The second General Council it self (as was before observed) has not escaped: For *Baronius*, An. CCCLXXXI. says that the fifth Canon of that Council was not received by the Church of *Rome*, and he suspects it is forged. *Bellarmin* says, it was not consented to by the Pope †, and therefore void; so says *Albertus Pighius* ‡, and *Coriolanus* §. The four reasons which *Baronius* brings to invalidate its Authority, *Binius* has transcribed into his Notes, which *Labbé* and *Cossartius* have printed in their Edition, without the least censure or animadversion; but in the margin, over against the Canon add a Note of their own, referring to some Epistles of *Leo*, which are quoted by *Baronius* to disprove its Authority. Now the onely fault they can find with this Canon is, that it makes the Bishop of *C. P.* next Primate to the Bishop of *Rome*, for this reason, because that City was new *Rome*, which would make the Pope's power and greatness depend upon the Preheminence that the City of *Rome* held in the Empire, not upon any Divine Right. And for no better reason they reject the twenty eighth Canon of *Chalcedon*, and would undoubtedly have rejected all the Canons of the first four General Councils, if they had stood in the way of the Pope's Authority. For the fifth Canon of *C. P.* is in all Copies, and there is no more cause to suspect it than any other Canon of the Council. The twenty eighth of *Chalcedon*, with those that follow it, is wanting indeed in some Copies; but this as well as that of *C. P.* must be owned by all in the Church of *Rome* that hold a Council above the Pope; for if the major part of the Church is of sufficient Authority to make them, so these Canons are as authentick as any in all the Volumes of Councils. For the honour and jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *C. P.* is founded upon the Laws of the Empire, and the consent of the universal Church, and these Canons have generally been so far owned as to be inserted into the Books of Canons.

§ III. The fifth General Council held under the Emperour *Justinian* about the middle of the sixth Century, was opposed by Pope *Vigilius* * to the utmost, till he was forced to submit and retract his Heresie to recover himself from Banishment. From whence

whence a *Query* will arise, How a Papist can be better assured that this Council is true, than that it is false? or, Whether a Council can be first false, and then, without the least alteration in its Doctrine, Infallible? or, How long time a Pope's Sentence must be past before its Effect of Infallibility be produced? Whether one Pope may not retract another's Sentence, as well as the same Pope his own? And if so, Whether *Innocent* the Eleventh for instance, may not retract the Sentence of *Pius* the Fourth, and so vacate the Council of *Trent*?

§ IV. *Albertus Pighius* wrote a Book ¹ on purpose to prove the sixth and seventh Councils both forged. The seventh was then newly published, but from what Copy or upon what Authority he says was unknown: *Franciscus Turrianus* undertook their defence. *Bellarmin* is for compounding the business, and is inclined ² to think that many Forgeries may indeed be crept in. *Binius* follows him, onely he is more positive, as his manner is, to give us something that is his own: *Labbe* and *Cossartius* let his Notes pass without censure. All the stir is, that the sixth Council condemned Pope *Honorius* for a Heretick, and the seventh approves the Sentence, and several times anathematizeth him; whom these men would willingly acquit, though there be as much evidence for it as can well be for any matter of Fact. The Anathema against him was solemnly pronounced every year, till of late, on the Festival of *St. Leo* the Second; and every Pope anathematized him in the Profession of Faith which he made at his Consecration, and sent it to the other Bishops ^a. The Arguments of *Baronius* to prove the sixth Council corrupted, are now laughed at ^b; though *F. Combefis* ^c was violently treated by *Raynaud*, a Jesuite, not long ago in a most malicious Satyr against the whole *Dominican* Order, onely because he had exposed *Baronius* on this subject. But *Garnerius* endeavours to palliate the matter, by saying, He was condemned onely for favouring Hereticks and conniving at them. *Natales Alex.* formally proves ^d that he spake like a Heretick, and acted like a Heretick, and communicated with Hereticks; and yet at the same time proves he was no Heretick. So impossible is it for Popes to be Hereticks! For any other Bishop had certainly been an Heretick, though he had done but half so much. But *Du Pin* ^e has confuted all this Sophistry: and so 'tis to be hoped, that now these

The sixth -
Gen. Council
held at C. P.
circa An. Do.
DCLXXXI. vel
ut alii putant,
DCLXX.
*Richer. Hist.
Conc. Hist.
Gen. p. 1. c. 10.
p. 525.
Diatriba de
Conc. 6, 7.
De Rom.
Pontif. l. 4.
c. 11.*

^a *Garnerii
Liber Dignitatis
in Professione Fidei
secunda dissert.
in eandem;
et Lau-
noii Epist.
part. 5. ep. 2.
p. 12. &c.
^b *Du Pin
dissert. 5. p. 350.
^c New Here-
sie of the Je-
suites, p. 91.
^d Sec. 7.
^e *Dissert. 5.
p. 349.***

these Councils may be genuine in *France*, where *Honorius* is an Heretick, or at least anathematized for a Favourer of Hereticks: but of what credit they are at *Rome* as to this Point, is easie to be imagined. He will scarce pass for a true Catholick there, who had not rather part with two Councils than one Pope.

Synodus Quinifexta in Trullo, circiter An. Dom. DCLXXXI. secundum Labbé in Tom. Conc.

§ V. But here we must not omit the Dispute betwixt the *Greeks* and the *Latins* concerning the Council in *Trullo*, called *Synodus Quinifexta*, because it was a kind of Supplement to the fifth and sixth Councils. The *Greeks* maintain against the *Latins* that this Council was *General*, they alledge that the Pope's Legates were present, and subscribed its Canons, which the Pope himself indeed afterwards refused to doe; but the Council styles it self *General*; and if want of the Pope's approbation could hinder it from being so, it was some time before the *Fifth* could deserve that Title, however it came by it at last: but the greatest fault of this Council in *Trullo* is, that it approves^f and confirms the second Canon of *C. P.* and the twenty eighth of *Chalcedon*, in which the *Latins* are *Kαὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων*, as *Balsamon* observes. However the hundred and two Canons of this Synod are cited in the second Council of *Nice*^g. And *Adrian* the First, in his Epistle to *Tarasius* says, that he receives the sixth Council with all its Canons, by which he can mean no other but this; for the sixth, as it is distinguished from this, made no Canons. *Nicholas* the First, in an Epistle to *Michael* the *Greek* Emperour, says, that they were confirmed by Pope *John* the Seventh, at the request of *Justinian* the Second, whom that Pope commends there as a most holy Emperour; besides, *Gratian* attributes them to the sixth Council, and so does the Council of *Florence*^h. All which was so convincing to *Caranza*ⁱ, that he sets them down as the Canons of the sixth General Council, and after him *Sylvius* chose rather to distinguish and refine upon the thirty sixth Canon, than to reject them all. *Angelus Roccha*^k says plainly, it was a continuation of the former Synod, not a new one, since both were subscribed by the same Bishops, as he proves out of the Second Council of *Nice*.

^f *Can. Trull.*
36.

^g *Ath. 4, 5, 6.*

^h *Self. 5.*

ⁱ *Sum. Conc.*

^k *Bibl. Vatis.*
p. 71.

The second Council of *Nice*, A. D.

DCCCLXXXI. vel DCCCLXXXV. vel DCCCLXXXVII. secundum Labbé.

§ VI. 1. The second Council of *Nice*, which is the seventh General Council, is a Council they find themselves as much concerned to defend as any of them all, and have had as much trouble

trouble in defending it: unless this be General, the worship of Images is at a great loss for Authority from Antiquity, and yet to defend this Council is almost as difficult as to defend the worship of Images without it.

2. *Gregory* the ¹ Great is well known to have been against the worship of Images; but his Successors, not long after, were for promoting it what they could; so zealous they were in the Cause, that great Contentions arose between the *Iconoclasts* and the *Iconolatriæ*: for no wonder if some were moved to break those Images, which they could not but abhor to see others worship. These ^m heats grew to that height, that the Emperour *Leo* the Third forbade by his Edict the worship of Images, following herein the Example of two of his Predecessors, and commanded them to be removed out of all Churches, considering that the lawfull use and ornament of Images might much better be spared than the worship of them suffered ⁿ. *Gregory* II. p. 453.

¹ Lib. 9. Ep. 9.

^m Cedren. Hist. Zonar. Annal.

ⁿ Cedren.

upon this calls a Council at *Rome*, determines for Image-worship, and anathematizeth the Emperour; and moreover forbids that Taxes or Tribute should any longer be paid to him from *Rome* or any other part of *Italy*; in short, he denies obedience to him, and betakes himself

This some attribute to *Gregory* the Third, who *Platina* says excommunicated and deposed *Leo*; *Hic statim ubi Pontificatum iniit, Cleri Romani consensu Leonem Tertium, Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum imperio simul & communione fidelium privat, quid sacras Imagines & sacris adibus abrafisset, & Statum demolitum esset, quodque etiam de Homusio male sentiret. Platina in Greg. Tert.* So natural is it for every one to be made an Heretick, who withstands the Corruptions and Innovations of the Church of *Rome*.

to the *Franks*. *Leo* *Isaurus* being dead, his Son *Constantinus Copronymus* calls a Synod at *C. P.* in which the worship of Images is condemned in *DCCCLIV*. In this state ^o things continued till about *DCCCLXXX*. when the Empress *Irene* being left a Widow by the death of *Leo* the Fourth, with her young *Constantine* the Sixth, resolved to call another Synod at *C. P.* to null the late Council held there under *Constantinus Copronymus*, and to determine for the worship of Images: but the People and the Souldiery of the City would endure no such thing, and they had most of their own Bishops so far on their side as to instruct and encourage them against such worship. The Citizens were not difficultly persuaded to be constant in their old Profession, which Edicts and Councils and their own Practice required them not to abandon, but they were led by too violent a Zeal to betake themselves

^o Conc. Tem. 7. col. 653.

^p Con. Tom. 7.
col. 55.

^q Anastas. in
Adrian I.

p. 172, 173.

^r Hincmar.
Rhemenf. ad
Laudunenf.
cap. 20.

^s Ep. ad Ca-
rolum M. pro
Synodo Nicæna
II. Con. Vol. 7.

^t Opus Caro-
linum, p. 7.

^v Pro Syn.
Nic. II. in Ac-
tione 5. c. 26.
p. 927.

"

selves to a way not justifiable, and together with the Souldiers were immediately in an Uproar upon these Proceedings of the Empress. The Council was forced to adjourn to *Nice*, no fewer than three hundred and fifty Bishops in number, and there they did the business the following year: There were none ^p from the West in it but the Pope's two Legates; and such was the freedom used in their Debates, that the Bishops who had been against Images, abjure in the beginning of the Council, and so are admitted to take their places in it. This happened DCCLXXXVII. as the last Editours compute it. *Adrian* the First sent his Legates thither, who brought a Copy of the Acts home with them signed by *Constantine* and *Irene*, those the Pope procured to be turned into *Latin* ^q, and put them into his own Library: They were not so confined there, but they soon caused no small debate in the Western Church. The Pope sends them ^r to *Charles* the Great, to be examined and approved by him and his Bishops. The Emperour opposed them, and either wrote himself against them, or however sent a Confutation to *Adrian*, and caused it to be published by his Authority; whether this was written in the Council of *Franckford*, as *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* suppose, or after it, or before it, has been doubted. *Labbe* and *Cossartius* place it in the same year with the Council of *Nice*, and *Adrian* ^s styles it only a *Capitular*, without taking notice that a Council had any thing to do in it, which he would scarce have omitted of a Council in which his own Legates were present, and dissented from the rest of the Bishops, as *Baronius* and *Bellarmin* imagine, or if they had agreed with them, yet this probably had been intimated either by the Emperour or the Pope. But that which puts this Controversie beyond all dispute is, that the Book it self ^t informs us, that the Synod in *Bithynia*, against which it is written, was held not quite three years before, whereas the Council of *Franckford* was held seven years after that of *Nice*; so that the Book was writ above four years before the Council of *Franckford*. However this be, The Pope sets himself to answer it from point to point, and scorns to stick ^v at any thing: where that Council of *Nice* says, that as the People of *Israel* were healed by looking upon the Brazen Serpent, so we beholding the Images of Saints shall be saved; he goes on to defend it at any rate, for the satisfaction of Unbelievers, and the direction of the Franks. His best Proof is a hearty Exclamation or two,

Aenei

Anei Serpentis inspectione credimus Israeliticum populum à calamitate injectâ liberari, Christi Dei nostri & Sanctorum effigies aspicientes atque venerantes dubitamus salvari? " We believe that the people

" of Israel were freed from the calamity that was thrown upon them, by looking upon the brazen Serpent, and shall we doubt of salvation if we look with veneration upon the Images of Christ our Lord, and the Saints? Strange indeed!

this must needs raise strong passions, especially in his Emperour as he calls *Charles* the Great in his Epistle to him prefixed to his defence of the Council: but his arguments are not so powerfull, all the Patheticks he could use, would not persuade them to speak one word to the purpose, as any one may discern that will but be at the pains to peruse them. One

Basilus an Archbishop had, it seems, in a Profession of Faith, which he read in the Council, inserted after the Belief in the

Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the kissing and adoring of Images and Relicks, adding, that he believed that Sanctification was partaken of from these, and leaving out in the mean time the Articles of Remission of Sins, the Resurrection of the Dead, and Life everlasting: The Pope resolved to defend all *, and not to stand out in the least at any thing whatsoever, justifies

Basilus, that sanctification may be had from Images and Relicks, and afterwards maintains * that a man had better visit all the Stews in the City, than refuse to adore the Image of our Lord, or of the Blessed Virgin. But how stout a Champion

soever the Pope was for the Council of *Nice*, the Emperour was not in the least satisfied, he was for good sense rather than *Honey words*, and therefore calls a Council at *Frankford* DCCXCIV. consisting of three hundred Bishops, who determined so unanimously against the Council of *Nice*, that *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* think the *Opus Carolinum*, which *Adrian* endeavoured to answer was drawn up there. The Pope had his Legates in the Council, but they were either brought to a consent with the rest of the Fathers, or however could get nothing by their opposition, which perhaps might be the less peremptory and pertinacious, and so the less regarded, because the Emperour himself was present.

3. Thus we see that not onely the Acts of the seventh General Council have lately been called in question, but that the Council it self was at first opposed by as General a Council held at

D

Frankford

Unde pro nimio amore, quem erga vestram mellifluam gerimus Regalem Excellentiam— unde pro vestra melliflua Regali dilectione.

** Ibid. in Añ. 1. cap. 4. Col. 942.*

** Ibid. Añ. 4. Col. 949.*

Frankford soon after, and which is strange, the same Pope's Legates were present at both, and the Pope himself sent his Letters to both, and if we believe *Binius*, confirmed both. For he would persuade us that the second *Nicene* Council was confirmed, not condemned by this of *Frankford*: though nothing can be more plain, than that the second Canon condemns the Worship of Images in contradiction to a *Greek* Synod, which had commanded it under pain of Anathema, and herewith agree all the y Ancient Writers, *Hincmarus*, *Aimoinus*, *Rhegino*, *Ado*, *Abbas Urspergensis*, besides the Books, which go under the name of *Charles* the Great purposely written against that Council of *Nice*, appears to have been written in the time of the Emperour, both from the Answer to them by *Adrian*, and from *Hincmar's* Testimony. *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* could not resist so strong conviction, but were both forced to confess, that the Council of *Frankford* had condemned this of *Nice*, they were ashamed to say bluntly, that either these Books were corrupted, or the Authours lied, this was too coarse, for *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* though *Copus*, *Surius* and *Sanders* made no scruple of it, and *Binius* ² here leaves the two Cardinals his usual Guides, to follow these. But *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* were men of more flight and fineness than to make use of so confident an argument, they acknowledge that the Council of *Nice* was condemned at *Frankford*; but, say they, the Fathers of *Frankford* were imposed upon, they knew not that the Pope had confirmed the Council of *Nice*, and besides mistook the sense of that Council. *Sirmondus* ² here falls in with *Bellarmin* and *Baronius*, well knowing that they had pitched upon the onely thing that could with any tolerable colour be said in the case: for he owns the Books of *Charles* the Great and the Canons of *Frankford* to be now generally accounted genuine beyond all dispute among learned men. And thus much *Maimburg*, and *Natalis Alex.* cannot deny, that they were written by that Emperour himself, or by his order.

4. But first, what did the Legates doe there, if they could not acquaint the Bishops, that the Pope had approved the Synod of *Nice*? how could they be ignorant of what the Pope had done on so important an occasion, or what that Doctrine was, which he had confirmed? They were very extraordinary men, and their Instructions were extraordinary, if they knew no better what they came about. Besides the Authour of the *Opus Carolinum* ^b

supposes

¹ *Bellarmin*
de Concilio
lib. 2. cap. 8.
p. 886.

² *Vid. not. ad*
Concilium.

³ *Admonit.*
conc. vol. 7.
col. 1054.

^b *p. 180.*

supposes the Pope and *Tarasius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* agreed upon the point of Images. He was ^c not unacquainted with the distinction of the *Nicene* Council between the worship due to Images, and that due to God himself, and he ^d frequently makes use of *Greek* which shews he was no such stranger to that Tongue, but that he might very well inform himself, as it appears he had done, what the *Nicene* Doctrine was, whether this Book was composed by *Alcuinus*, or by *Ingilrammus*, or by whomsoever else is not much material to my present purpose, but if it were writ in the Council of *Frankford*, as *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* think, or before it, ^e as appears from the Book it self, or though it were writ afterwards, yet can it be supposed that all the Bishops at *Frankford* with the Emperour, whose name this work bears, should be so great strangers to the Doctrine of *Nice* so fully set forth and confuted in this Book? *Bellarmin* indeed says, the Book gives a wrong account of the Doctrine; but 'tis plain, he gives a wrong account of the Book: for it does as ^f accurately distinguish betwixt *Latria* and *Doulia* as *Bellarmin* himself, and then proves that neither of them may be given to Images. That the Council of *Frankford* could be ignorant of the Doctrine established at *Nice* can seem probable to no man, who considers, that the Pope had caused the Canons of *Nice* to be translated into *Latin*, that his Legates were present at *Frankford*, and that they refused to consent to the Decree of that Council, as *Bellarmin* and *Baronius* affirm. To imply that the Bishops at *Frankford* did not understand *Greek* might pass well enough from *Sirmondus*, but might have been spared by men of no greater accuracy in that Tongue than the two Cardinals: if not one among them all were skilled in the *Greek*, yet why could they not read the Translation? why could they not consult the Legates? The Cardinals perhaps might be sensible enough how liable men are to mistakes for want of a little *Greek*, and *Anastasius* ^g says, the Translation was very perplexed, and hardly intelligible, but I can never be persuaded that the Legates would stand by and deny their consent, and yet not endeavour to undeceive the Council, and at least advise them to send to *Rome*, for Instructors. Pope *Adrian* wrote himself in defence of the Synod of *Nice*, which he had confirmed, and so must be allowed to understand it, and *Greek* could then be no very strange Language at *Rome*, nor consequently at *Frankford*

^c p. 88.

^d Pp. 257, 258, 275, 293, 401.

^e p. 7.

^f p. 88.

^g *Præfat. in septim. Synod. Concil. Tom. 7. Col. 29.*

neither among three hundred Bishops gathered together from all parts of the West, when the Pope had so lately renounced his Allegiance to the *Greek* Emperour, and yet still a correspondence was held between *Rome* and *C. P.* by *Adrian* with *Con-*

^b *Council. Tom.* *stantine* and *Irene*, and *Tarasius*^b, as appears by their Letters,

7.

5. But 'tis in vain to argue from probabilities, if the Canon it self, as is pretended, be grounded upon a mistake. *Allata est in medium quaestio de nova Graecorum Synodo, quam de adorandis Imaginibus Constantinopoli fecerunt, in qua scriptum habebatur, ut qui imaginibus sanctorum ita ut Deis Trinitati servitium, aut adorationem non impenderet, anathema judicaretur; qui supra sanctissimi Patres nostri omnimodis orationem aut servitutem eis impendere renuentes, contempserunt atque consentientes condemnauerunt.* "The

"question, about the new *Greek* Synods, held at *C. P.* about
"Worshipping of Images, was then debated; therein it was
"written that whosoever should not pay that Service or Ado-
"ration to the Images of the Saints, which he would pay to the
"B. Trinity should be anathematized: whereupon our Holy
"Fathers by all means refusing to pray to them, or pay them
"service, despised and unanimously condemned it. Here is first
C. P. mistaken for *Nice*, and then it is said that the same Wor-
ship is under Anathema commanded to be given to Images,

^c *Not. in Con-*
cil. Franco-
ford. Conc.
vol. 7. Col.
1066.

which is given to the blessed Trinity. *Sirmondus*^c is so ingenuous as to propose a way of reconciling the first mistake of *C. P.* for *Nice* by supposing that the Synod is said to have been at *C. P.* not that it was held in that City, but because it was in the *Constantinopolitane* Empire, and at the command of the *Greek* Emperour *Constantine* and his Mother *Irene*. This, I must confess, seems to me strained; but it were yet a greater force upon the imagination to be told, that *Charles* the Great with three hundred Bishops met together to condemn the Worship of Images, decreed in a General Council about seven years before, should yet not be certified where this Decree was made, nor be able to distinguish *Nice* from *C. P.* and that the same Pope should send his Legates to both Synods, and yet give them no better instructions than to suffer them to be ignorant in so late a matter of Fact, which must be known all over *Europe*. For when the Worship of Images which had undergone so much debate, and had been the cause of so great Troubles, and occasioned the calling divers Councils,

Councils, but had never the good luck to succeed, was at last in a General Council enjoyned under Anathema: and when the Popes Legates at their coming from the Council brought a Copy of it subscribed by *Constantine* and *Irene*, which the same Pope that now sent his Legates to *Frankford*, commanded to be translated into *Latin*, and placed in his Library, when the Pope himself had answered the objections propos'd by the Emperour against this very Council of *Nice*, who can conceive that the whole Transaction should not be noised abroad and talked of in all places, and among all persons, and in all its circumstances so exactly known, that it would have been impossible to have picked out three hundred men of any tolerable rank and conversation, who could be ignorant, that the General Council of *Nice* had at length decided the vexatious controversie about Images? If its judgment had been acquiesced in as infallible, or but of sufficient Authority to enforce any submission upon the conscience, it certainly had been taken more notice of, than to be unknown to any man of ordinary observation in its less material circumstances of time, and place, and number of Bishops; the Doctrine however had been taught and practised every where among all sorts of People, or, if it had been rejected by some, yet these would have found themselves obliged to give an account, why they rejected it, and so to enquire thoroughly into it: but to suppose so many Western Bishops, with the Pope's Legates among the rest, and the Emperour himself in the midst of them, so grossly and even stupidly ignorant, as to know neither the Doctrine it self, nor the place where the Synod was held but seven years before, is to cast too great a blemish upon the Western Church, and would be apt to make men suspect, that the Western Clergy at that time could make no pretence to the least share of infallibility either in a Council or out of it. The Emperour's Book mentions the *Greek* Council as held in *Bithynia*, and it were extreme weakness to imagine, that *Charles* the Great, after he had been at the pains to write a Book upon the subject, or had ordered one to be written, had not intelligence good enough to set the Synod right in the circumstance of place at least, if any will be so free with him, as to say he was rash enough to oppose he knew not what.

6. But

6. But to free that wise and great Emperour, and the whole *Western Church* from so stupid an absurdity: It can be no wonder, that the Decree concerning Image-worship should be related in the Council of *Frankford* as made at *C. P.* to him, who remembers that the first meeting of the *Nicene* Fathers was at *C. P.* and that there first they began to Anathematize those, who were against the worship of Images, but finding *C. P.* too hot for them were forced to remove to *Nice*. And this may give a farther account, why the Doctrine condemned in the Canon of *Frankford* doth not so exactly agree with the definition made at *Nice*, where it is probable they might think fit to be more moderate and cautious in their expressions, after they had experience how ill the Doctrine of Image-worship was thought of at *C. P.* and with how great difficulty it was like upon any terms to be received. The Council of *Frankford* might be content to use the like moderation and not directly to oppose that Council in the face of his Legates, which had after a sort been defended by the Pope himself, since it was sufficient in the end of the Canon to add such a clause as excludes all worship of Images whatsoever: *Qui supra sanctissimi Patres nostri omnimodis orationem aut servitutem eis impendere renuentes contempserunt atque consentientes condemnarunt:* They might not be unwilling to spare the name of a Council that had gone before them in condemning the Heresie of *Felix*, and *Elipandus*, and after the dispute between the Emperour and the Pope, the Emperour might perhaps think fit to try this expedient for an Accommodation of a thing that had been of so ill consequence, and so might give order to omit the mention of *Nice*, and not to engage the Pope's Legates at *Frankford* to condemn the same Popes Legates at *Nice*, but nevertheless to have the thing it self condemned as effectually, as if all the Fathers of *Nice* had been particularly named. For it is observed that *Charles* the Great and his Son *Lewis* after him had a particular care to give the Popes good words, and to keep fair with them, when they most withstood their designs; and thus *Lewis* carryed it in this very case of Images, when the worship of them was condemned in the Council of *Paris*. This is the account, which to me seems most probable, but however that the *Nicene* Council was condemned not onely at *Frankford*, but generally in the *West*, and shortly after in the *East* too, is as clear as the light. *Maimburg*
and

and *Natalis Alex.* are so hard put to it, after all their endeavours to palliate and reconcile these two Councils, that they are forced to pretend that *Charles* the Great was enraged at *Constantine* the Greek Emperour, because he refused to marry his Sister, and so in revenge called this Council at *Frankford* in opposition to *Constantine's* Council at *Nice*, and the Images and Image-worshippers, it seems, suffered all the hard names and bad usage at *Frankford* because *Constantine* loved Images better than the Lady. An honourable revenge, for *Charles* the Great to vent his spleen upon the poor Images, which, I suppose, were all against the Match. But the captious and frivolous cavils of those two Writers are particularly and fully answered by ^a *Spanhemius*, and are not much material to be here considered.

^a *Hist. Imag. Sess. 6. & 7.*

7. 'Tis certain the Council of *Nice* had been before condemned in *Britain* ^b, and *Alcuinus* had written against it, and in the name of the Princes and Bishops had sent a Censure of it to the Emperour, together with the Acts of the Council, which the Emperour had before sent into *Britain*, and this probably was the first Draught of the *Opus Carolinum*, which *Adrian* replied to. A Synod at *Paris* owned by *Sirmondus* ^c and *Mabillon*, notwithstanding *Bellarmin's* pretended confutation, condemned Image-worship and the Second Council of *Nice*, with the two Epistles of *Adrian*, one to *Charles* the Great in defence of it, and another to *Constantine* and *Irene* to persuade them to call it. *Adrian* wrote his Defence for the direction of the *Francks*, and *Anastasius* ^d informs us, that the *French* were not reconciled to this Council, nor to the worship of Images in his time, and not onely *Mabillon* but *Bellarmin* ^e himself confesses, that *Jonas Aurelianensis*, *Agobardus*, and generally the *French* Writers of that age were against the worship of Images, and condemned the Council of *Nice*, which likewise had been done in the beginning of this Century *DCCCXIV.* in a Council at *C. P.* called by *Leo Armenius*: yet the Embassadors from the Greek Emperours to *Lewis le Debonnaire* in *DCCCXXIV.* complain of the horrible abuses that were then got into that Church, that the *Greeks* had thrown down Crosses in their Churches, and set up Images in their room, that they lighted Candles before them and offered Incense to them, that they adored them with singing Hymns to them, and asking help of them, and by a most ridiculous superstition made them Godmothers to their

^b *Mabillon Praef. ad Aſſa. Sanctorum Benedicti. part 1. § 4. p. 15.*

^c *Tom. Concil. 7. Mabillon ibid.*

^a *Praef. ad Synod. VII.*

^e *Bellarmin Script. Eccl. in Jonas Aurelianens. Mabillon ib. p. 16.*

their Children, and that some Priests had dared to doe what cannot be mentioned without horror, they scraped off the paint from Images and mingled it with the Wine at the Sacrament, and had been guilty of other such like abuses: others put the Sacramental Bread into the hands of Images, and from them received the Communion, and others forsook the Churches, and in private houses made use of Tables set before Images to

^a Mabillon *ib.*
p. 15. 24.

consecrate the Sacrament upon. It was on this ^a occasion, that *Lewis le Debonnaire* called the Council above mentioned at *Paris*, wherein a Book was compiled to shew, that Images are not at all to be worshiped, which he sent to the Pope, but with order to mitigate some passages, and to manage the controverſie so dextrously, as to give least offence to his Holiness. These proceedings had such success, that *Nicholas* the First in his Council held at *Rome*, and in the relation he gives of it to *Michael* the Emperour, and *Adrian* the Second in his Epistle to *Carolus Calvus* mentions but six General Councils, the seventh not being then received into the number, not because it was not yet

^b *Vid. Conc.*
vol. 8. p. 287.
774.

turned into *Good Latin*, as the ^b Annotator would persuade us, but because it was not thought to contain *sound Doctrine*: for since it was confirmed by the Pope, what prejudice could that be to the reception, though it had been in a Tongue as unknown to the Priests, as that which their Prayers are in is to the People? When *Ado* Archbishop of *Vienne* in the profession of Faith, which upon his promotion to that See, he sent to *Nicholas* the First, declared that he approved the four General Councils, making no mention of the rest, *Nicholas* notwithstanding sends him the Pall, but withall writes to know what he thought of the fifth and sixth Councils, not requiring him to say ^c any thing of the seventh. And indeed all the Patriarchs of the *East*, except the Patriarch of *C. P.* used to make mention, in their Synodical Epistles, but of six General Councils, as the

^c Mabillon
ibid. p. 27.

^d *Tom. 10. ad*
Annum.
DCCCLXIII.
p. 247.

^e Mabillon
ibid. p. 27.

^f *Nichol. I.*
Epist. Conc.
vol. 8.

Encyclica of *Photius* shews, and as *Baronius* ^d, who first published it, does not gainsay. Which made the Authour of the ^e *Annales Berliniani* observe, that the eighth Synod had defined concerning Images, contrary to what the Orthodox had defined before. For the controverſie about Images was again under debate at *C. P.* when *Nicholas* the First ^f sent his Legate thither, and their chief business was to decide it, for they were to act nothing in the cause of *Photius*, but onely to enquire how things

things had been managed. Afterwards under *Adrian* the Second, **DCCCLXX.** while the eighth General Council was sitting, there appears to have been another Synod opposing the worship of * Images, which they anathematize; and it was one part of their business to establish that worship *. So that this Council of *Nice* was received neither in the East nor in the West, during one Century after it was held. Nay, it has been lately shewn that till the fifteenth Century the veneration of Images was rejected by the most eminent persons of the Western Church *. Afterwards Images and the Council of *Nice* had a blessed time of it, and the People grew fond of these which they call *Laymens Books*, when their Priests could scarce read any other. And though it may well be expected, that the extravagance of this dotage should be much abated since the Reformation, especially in *France*, where Popery is new modelled and refined to that degree; yet even there sober men complain and lament, but cannot remedy the excess of it in our days †.

* Τῶ ἐν οὐ-
α πλοῦς οὐ-
νδ εἶναι καὶ
σὺν αὐτῷ
conc. Tom. 8.
col. 1360.

† Fallibility
of the Church
of Rome de-
monstrated
from the se-
cond Council
of *Nice*, c. 4.
sess. 6.

† Mabil. ib.
p. 28. & Ri-
cher. Hist.
Gen. Conc.

Lib. 1. cap. 11.

§ VII. 1. There are no fewer than four Councils which lay claim to the title of the eighth General Council, and the Pope was present either in person or by his Legates in them all. Three of these were held at *C. P.* The first **DCCCLXI.** in which *Ignatius* Patriarch of *C. P.* was deposed; the next **DCCCLXX.** in which he was restored, and *Photius* deposed; the third **DCCCLXXIX.** when, after the death of *Ignatius*, *Photius* was again placed in that See. The fourth, * which goes under the name of the eighth General Council, is that of *Florence*, of which I shall forbear to speak till we come to it in order.

§ 13.
The eighth
Gen. Council
or the fourth
C. of *C. P.*
An. DCCCLXX.

The Dates of
these 3 Coun-
cils are accord-
ing to Lab-
be's Edition.

* Vid. Not. ad
Conc. C. P. IV.
col. 1491. Conc.
vol. VIII.

2. The Council of *C. P.* which condemned *Photius* is esteemed the eighth General Council by the *Latins* generally, and that which restored him, by the *Greeks*, by *Zonaras*, *Balsamon*, *Pfellus*, *Nilsus*, &c. *Marcus Ephesinus* ^h in the Council of *Florence* maintains in the name of the whole *Greek* Church, that the Council of *C. P.* which restored *Photius* had nulled the Council, which the *Latins* call'd the eighth General Council, in which *Ignatius* was restored and *Photius* deposed, and that this Council was confirmed by *John* the Eighth; and that in the same Synod it was determined, that the addition of *Filióque* should be taken out of the Creed, and therefore

Ἀπὸ τῶν γὰρ μέλει τῶν ἀνα-
γινώσκοντων τὴν μακάριον ἐκκλησίαν
καὶ συνέλιναν αὐτῶν. Ἀπὸ αὐτῶν
καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ τῶν
ἐκκλησιολογούντων, ἡ ἐκκλησία
ἀνέστη. Marc. Ephes. in Conc.
Flor. Sess. 6. col. 87. Conc. vol. 13.

from that time; in the Great Church at C. P. they used, he says, to denounce Anathema to whatever had been written or spoken against the holy Patriarchs *Photius* and *Ignatius*. To this the Cardinal *Julian*, with whom *Marcus Ephesinus* had the Dispute, could find nothing to reply, for which he is very much blamed by another Cardinal, who never was at such a loss, but he always had something to say; I mean *Baronius*. 'Tis plain the Bishop of *Rhodes*, who in the next Session undertook to answer *Marcus Ephesinus*, knew very little of the matter; for he pretends to speak onely upon Probabilities; λέγω ὅτι τὸ το πάλαι παρὰ πάντας, ἐκ εὐλογίας. "I say that this does not by any means seem probable. He objects, that the Pope nor his Legates did not preside in *Photius's* Council, as if the *Greeks* had ever thought that necessary; he makes no exceptions against any particulars in the Acts of the Synod, as not authentick, but would prove in general, that there never was such a Synod, because the Pope nor his Legates did not preside in it; "for if they had, (ar-

Εἰδ' ὅτι τὸν, ὁμολογῶμεν ὅτι
 ὅτι καὶ τοῖς Λατίνοις μὴν ἡμῶν
 καὶ τῆς σωτῆρος ἐκείνης. Ib. col. 127.

gues he) there would have been some remembrance of that Synod in the Latin

Church: whereas the *Epistles* and *Commonitorium* of *John* the Eighth shew that there was such a Synod, and that his Legates did preside in it; and *Baronius* proves, that his Legates for their compliance were excommunicated at their return to *Rome*.

3. Nor is it a Pretence of the *Greeks* onely, that this, styled the fourth Council of C. P. wherein *Photius* was condemned, is vacated: but the *Epistles* of Pope *John* the Eighth to this very purpose are cited by *Ivo Carnutenfis* in his Collection of Decrees. "The

i Part. 4.
 cap. 76, 77.

Constantinopolitanam Synodum e-
 am, qua contra Photium facta est,
 non esse recipiendam. Joannes VIII.
 Patriarcha Photino; Illam, qua con-
 tra Photium facta est, Constantino-
 politanam Synodum irritam feci-
 mus, et omnino deleuimus, tum
 propter alia, tum quoniam Adrianus
 Papa non subscripsit in ea. De eodem
 Joannes Apocrisfariis suis, Dicetis,
 quod illas Synodos, qua contra Pho-
 rium sub Adriano Papa Romae vel
 Constantinopoli sunt facta, cassa-
 mus, et de numero sanctarum Synodo-
 rum deleuimus.

"Constantinopolitan Synod which was made
 "against *Photius* is to be rejected. *John* the
 "Eighth to *Photinus* the Patriarch; We have
 "vacated and entirely abolished the *Constan-*
 "tinopolitan Synod which was made against
 "Photius, as well for other reasons, as because
 "Pope *Adrian* did not subscribe in it. Of
 "the same thing, *John* to his *Apocrisarii*, Ye
 "shall say, that we vacate and dash out of
 "the number of the holy Synods, all those
 "Synods which were held against *Photius*
 "under Pope *Adrian* at *Rome* or at *Constan-*
 "tinople. The same Authour, in his Pro-
 logue.

logue or Preface, quotes another of Pope John's Epistles at large written to the Eastern Churches, wherein he tells them that they had been too hasty in restoring Photius without his knowledge: but for all that, he was well enough contented, and brings several arguments to shew that Photius might be restored, notwithstanding any sentence which had passed upon him. He there compares Photius's case not with that of the Donatists, but of St. Athanasius, St. Cyril and Polichronius; of St. Chrysostome and Flavianus; and then concludes, that if the Donatists, who had been cast out of the Church by a General

Council, had yet been received into Communion by another Council, much more ought men of an orthodox Faith and an unblameable life; not to be condemned, but restored to their former dignity; which must suppose Photius to be a man of an orthodox Faith and an unblameable Life; or else we must suppose his Argument nothing to the purpose. But

he proceeds to say, that his Predecessours Nicholas and Adrian had been imposed upon, and that all that had been done against Photius was to be accounted as if it had been never done. Nor doth this depend upon Ivo's Authority onely, but the second Canon of the Council which restored Photius is inserted by Gratian as a Canon of the eighth General Council, for which he is severely handled by Baronius, though others of the Roman^k Communion have been wavering as to this matter, and have written uncertainly and confusedly about it; and Innocent the Third^l himself quotes the same second Canon in his Epistles.

4. Baronius notwithstanding, Raderus and Possevin, whose Arguments Binius has collected in his Notes, and generally the whole Roman Church are for maintaining the Authority of this fourth Council of C. P. and this is the last of the eight General Councils which every Pope is sworn to at his Consecration^m. They argue that the Acts of that Council which restored Photius are corrupted, which is a sure Argument, when there is nothing else to say: Well, but they prove it from John's Epistles, which are quite another thing in the Vatican MSS. than they are in these Acts: but how does it appear that these Epistles are more authentic than the Acts? why, because these have been abused by Photius; and how does that appear? because Photius was a Villain: as he was indeed one of the greatest Monsters of impiety that

Nullus excuset pro Synodo contra eum peractis, nullus sanctorum Predecessorum meorum Nicolai & Adriani sententiam contra eum causetur: De ipso enim subreptum est illud, nullus contra eum subscriptiones vestras occasione Schismatis habeat: omnia enim ut infecta & irrita facimus, &c. Ivo Carnut. Prolog. p. 5.

^k Rader. apud Binius Conc. Vol. 8. Col. 1496.

^l Lib. I. tit. 9. c. 11.

^m Vid. II. Profess. fid. apud Garnerium, in Diurn.

ever lived, if all be true that his Enemies relate of him. They say that his Mother, when she went with child of him, dreamt that she should bring forth a Serpent, which with his noisome Breath should infect the whole East; and many holy Men foretold the same thing in plainer language to her, that she should be delivered of one who would be the ruine of the Church: this troubled her so much that she often endeavoured to destroy her self, rather than that such a Brat should ever be born into the World: but her Husband prevented the design; and she was at last persuaded by devout People about her to submit to the Providence of God: so she was prevailed with to live, and, to her great sorrow, was Mother of a Son who outwent all these Prophecies. For the Legend must not end here: He was an *Impostour* and *used Enchantments*, he got *Ignatius* removed out of his Patriarchate, and himself placed in his room; he had defiance to Popes; and when they excommunicated him, to be even with them, he excommunicated them again; when they deposed him, he deposed them, and never was behind-hand with them in any kind offices, and this is thought to have been his greatest crime: though besides, ^a he held that a man has two souls, *while his enemies acted as if they thought men to have none*. The Popes, it seems, had every one a touch at him in their turn, for he was condemned by nine Popes, and was under Excommunication XLV. years ^o, which is somewhat longer, I think, than *F. Warrington* or *F. Walsh*. All this to be sure made him an abominable Schismatick ^p, a Fornicator, a Parricide, a notorious Liar, another *Maximus* ^q *Cynicus*, another *Dioscorus*, another *Judas*; *Antichrist* ^r. To speak all in a word, he was a very Devil.

5. After this heavy charge, what wickedness can be imagined that will not be believed of *Photius*? 'Tis none of my business at present to make his defence, which would be now the more difficult to be done, because all ^t the Acts and Writings for his Justification were sought out and burnt in this fourth Council of *C. P.* 'Tis sufficient for me to observe that Pope *Nicholas* at first interposed as an Indifferent Arbitrator between him and *Ignatius*, which sure he would never have done, if *Photius* had been guilty of so notorious Crimes: he was mainly concerned that himself had not been consulted; as for any thing else, 'tis not easie to observe which side he most inclined to. He writes to *Photius*, and tells him, he is glad to understand, that he is orthodox, but is sorry he should from a Laick immediately become a Bishop

^a Bin. Not. ad
Con. IV. C. P.
ex Possiv. in.
Rader. Cyc.
Col. 1498, Cyc.
^o Conc. Tom. 8.
col. 1423.
^p Ibid. Col.
1108.
^q Ibid. Col.
1098.
^r Anastas.
Pres. ibid.
Col. 967.
^t Vid. Can. 6.
C. Col. 1101,
1190, 1354.

a Bishop without passing through the inferiour Orders, and this is the onely exception against him. His Legates so far approve *Photius's* Cause, that they communicate with him, and condemn *Ignatius*; for which indeed they were excommunicated when they came home, because the Pope said, they had gone beyond their Commission, whether this were onely a pretence, or that they had really exceeded their Orders: In his Epistles to the Emperour as well as to *Photius* the Pope finds no other fault, but that of a Laick, he ought not to have been made Patriarch, though there had been so late an Example of this in *Tarasius*, besides Saint *Ambrose* and *Nectarius*. So that the plain truth is, Pope *Nicholas* would have the whole matter referred to his own decision, and he should be the Patriarch whom *Nicholas* would appoint. To say that *Photius* * usurped upon *Ignatius* is but a Cavil, for *Ignatius* had served *John* so before, as *Anastasius* confesses, and *Nicholas* * does not deny it, onely he again urges that himself ought to judge between them. In his Epist. to *Bardas* * he compliments him highly, telling him, he was exceedingly troubled, that a man of his extraordinary character for virtue and piety should be concerned for *Photius*, which sufficiently overthrows the slander, that the deposition of *Ignatius* was procured, because he would not approve the Incest of *Bardas*, but excommunicated him for it. Pope *Nicholas* is not consistent with himself in the account he gives of the behaviour of his Legates in this affair: sometimes he writes that they informed him * that they were under restraint, and were told of very hard usage designed them, but this was onely Rumour: in another Epistle he writes, that they had been bribed to communicate with *Photius*, and to depose *Ignatius*, but that they both denied they had done any such thing, till at last *Zacharias* confessed that he had communicated with *Photius*, and had deposed *Ignatius*; but not a Syllable of any Bribe mentioned: *Rhodoaldus* * the other Legate, stood out still, and would not confess, nor would by any means be persuaded to abide his Tryal, but fled for it, notwithstanding all the kind words and promises of fair dealing the Pope could give him: though in the thirteenth Epistle they are said both to confess the Fact *, and afterwards *Rhodoaldus* flies. So little is there to be relied upon in the Invectives against *Photius*. This is certain, not * a Bishop was suffered to sit in the Council called to depose him, till he had first sub-

* *Præf. ad Syn. 8. init.*

* *Nich. Ep. 5.*

* *Ep. 12.*

* *Ep. 6.*

* *Epist. 7.*

Col. 289. & 10. Col. 355.

* *Col. 381.*

* *Al. 1, 2, 3.*

^b *Ad. 7. in fin.*

^c *Nicetas in vita Ignat. ap. Labbé. Conc. Tom. 8.*

—: ἡ μίχρη τῶν ὁ πτόλημος, ὡς ἔστιν ἔχον ὁ δόγμα, ἰσχυροῦς ἀδίων πρίσβης ἡ ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰσ ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἀνδρὲς μεταστάσις ἡ πατριαρχὸς τύπῃ φρονήματι ἀπεδείκναι ἡ τῷ θαυμασμοῦ αὐτῶν σιωπεῖν κορυφαίως ἀποκρίναι, &c. Phot. *Epist.* 118. “And if hitherto they were not daring enough, yet it was an unexampled thing, to change the Ambassadors and Servants of impious Saracens into High-Priests, and to give them the precedency of Patriarchs, and to set them up as Heads of their wonderfull Assembly.

^d *Philippi Cyprii Chron. Eccles. Grec. cum Com. Henr. Hilarii. p. 137.*

subscribed a Writing sent thither from the Pope, wherein they denounced Anathema to *Photius*, and condemned his Councils, and owned those against him: then it can be no wonder if they libel him in the most bitter manner, calling him by all the ill names they could think of, and treat him in such Terms as could not become them to use, whatever he might deserve; that nothing might be wanting to the keenness of their malice, they made *lambicks* upon him, which *Anastasius* has taken care to translate, but the *Greeks* were ashamed of them, for their Copy tells us, they were ill Verses, and so it has omitted them; but *Anastasius*^b had no such nice Stomach, he knew no distinction of good or bad, so they were but against *Photius*. At the end of the ninth Action the *Greeks*, it seems, were not so witty in their own malice, but *Anastasius* has supplied that defect, and added some Rhimes of his own. I mention this the rather for the honour and antiquity of this way of confutation, because a late Author has turned all the *Papists* Arguments, and all their Rallery too into Rhime. In Conclusion, ^c the Fathers subscribe his Deposition, not with Ink, but with Wine consecrated in the Sacrament, which is a surer sign of the hatred they bare to *Photius* than of their belief of Transubstantiation; for what malice could transport men to so extravagant Impiety, as to profane our Lord's own blood to such a use? What the Proceedings of this Council were may be sufficiently understood from this which has been but intimated out of it, and I need not refer to the account *Photius* gives,

but to the Acts themselves, to observe their heat and fury against him. He complains of great terror and violence used in the Synod, and that certain Embassadors from the *Saracens* were received there, and took their places, as *Patriarchs* of the East. And there is still extant ^d an Epistle of *Elias* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, which confirms the Truth of what *Photius* says in this matter. He makes frequent Complaints in his Epistles of the hardships and miseries which himself and his Party endured, and declares how unwillingly he entred upon the Patriarchate, and professes, that if it had been in his own Power, he would sooner have chosen to dye, than to venture

venture on so high and difficult a station, and was now ready to resign: and he makes these complaints not to any friend at a distance from Court, or who could be a stranger to his Affairs, but to *Bardas*, the man who is said to have conspired with him to get *Ignatius* deposed; if that were true, what need could he have to make such pressing solicitations to one so deeply engaged in his Interest? and how ridiculous would such Protestations be? could he be so forsaken of all modesty and common sense, as to tell the very man, ^c who contrived the whole business with him, ^c *Epist.* 3. & how great a force and reluctance he had upon himself in consenting to be made Patriarch? *Theophanes* ^f his Deacon and Prothonotary was put to the Torture, that by any means he might be compelled to accuse *Photius*, which he afterwards lamented, and besought his pardon. *Photius* ^g gives a large description of his miseries in an Epistle which he wrote to the Bishops while he was in Banishment. And all this he suffered for his Loyalty ^h to his Prince; for he was deposed, because he refused to receive *Basilius* to Communion after he had murdered *Michael* the Emperour. Whoever considers his unshaken Loyalty, and reads his Writings will not easily believe that he could be so notorious a Villain as he is represented; but if so much wickedness could meet in one man, in one Bishop, yet how improbable is it that the whole *Greek* Church should respect and reverence this Bishop as a Saint? or that Pope *John* the Eighth, after his cause had been so narrowly examined, and his Enemies had said and done their utmost, should yet think him a man of an *orthodox Faith* and an *unblameable Life*; and compare him to *St. Anastasius*, *St. Cyrill* and *St. Chrysostome*? But he had discovered that his Predecessours had been imposed upon, or that something more severe must be said of them: and so are all those imposed upon, or would impose upon others, who give us so monstrous a Character of so excellent a Man. He is charged with having corrupted the Acts of the Councils which restored him, and particularly those passages which import that this fourth Council of *C. P.* was cancelled by that. But is it a sure proof of Corruption and Forgery if Copies differ, as the *Greek* and *Latin* Copies often do? The next Question will be, where the Forgery lies, and who is to be taxed with it. To go no farther, the Version of *Anastasius* and the *Greek* Original of this fourth Council of *C. P.* differ very much: for besides other Variations, there are
twenty

^c *Epist.* 3. &

^{6.}

^f *Epist.* 83.

^g *Epist.* 174.

^h *Zonar. Annal. & Leo Grammat. Chronograph.*

twenty seven Canons in the *Latin* and but fourteen in the *Greek*, yet both of them must pass for authentick enough, though the seventeenth of the additional Canons will give the *French* some pains to reconcile it to the practice of their Church. For it appoints that all Metropolitans shall meet in Council at the summons of their Patriarch, notwithstanding any prohibition from the secular Magistrate, and that Princes should not be present in any but General Councils: both which are contrary to the Practice of the *French* Church: For their Princes are wont to be present in their National and Provincial Synods, and their Bishops, if they be detained by command from the King, think that a sufficient excuse for absenting themselves from any Synod their Patriarch shall call them to. Two eminent Prelates of that Church, *de Marca* and *Bosquet*, have endeavoured to explain this Canon so as to justify their own Doctrine and Practice: but *Christianus Lupus* was so little satisfied with the attempt, that he exclaims against it, as becoming rather *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* or *Acacius* of *Cæsarea*, than Bishops of the *Gallican* Church, and whereas they alledge the Authority of *Hincmar* of *Rhemes*; he plainly says, that they might as well have alledged *Luther's* testimony against the Council of *Trent*. *Natalis Alex.* interposes to mediate the business, and would willingly make up the Debate; with what success let *Lupus's* Party judge. But still these Canons must be all acknowledged authentick, though they are not in the *Greek*; but if the *Greek* differ from the *Latin* in any thing material that goes in the least against the Church of *Rome*, loud Outcries are presently made of *Falshood* and *Forgery*. For the Charge here seems to lye not against *Photius* alone, but against all the *Greeks* in general, even from the second to the eighth General Council. So *Anastasius*¹ complains, that they had falsified the second, the third, the fourth, the sixth, the seventh General Councils, and he suspects that they might use the same fraud as to the eighth. Nay, they did so: The sly *Greeks*² stole away the Subscriptions which they had made in the beginning of this Council, and though they restored them after they were discovered, yet at the end of the Council they had shewn them such another trick, if *Anastasius* had not been too cunning for them. They had already taken out some expressions which *Adrian* the Second foisted into an Epistle of his Predecessour; and so they had robbed the Western Emperour of all the fine things which

¹ *Prof. in Conc. C.P. IV. col. 972.*

² *Anastasi. not. ad Aſſion. I. col. 989.*

Omne, quod ad laudem Sere- nissimi nostri Cæsaris sanctissimi Domini Hadriani in Epi-

which the present Pope had made his Predecessour say of him, but *Anastasius*, who with another as cunning as himself, by great Providence as 'twas thought, was there, found out the wrong done the Emperour, and great Clamours were raised about it, nor would the Legates at last subscribe otherwise than conditionally, *Usque ad voluntatem ejusdem eximii Prasulis* ¹, "As far as it was the desire of that worthy Prelate: which may convince us what a noise has used to be made of Forgery against the *Greeks* of whatever Party; for *Basilius* and *Ignatius*, we see, are not exempted; the whole *Greek Church* of all Ages is accused of these fraudulent Practices, which assures us that there have been such Practices on one side, and which side the fraud lyes may easily be determined, if we consider that the passages pretended to have been forged were received by all other Churches, and are not now denied to be genuine by the most learned men in the Church of *Rome* as has been shewn. 'Tis no new thing to hear of Complaints of Forgery, when any thing goes against the Church of *Rome*, and *Photius* is not the first man that has been blackned to make the Charge find a more easie belief.

6. Well! But *Photius* has before been guilty of making alterations in an Epist. of Pope *Nicholas* ^m, as that Pope complains. Very likely! and that he might be sure not to be discovered, it was sent ⁿ back again falsified to the Pope with the Acts of *Photius's Council*. This is such an odd kind of Cheat, that it lays one thing to his charge, which his worst enemies never durst brand him with, and is so great an Instance of Folly, that it ruins all the rest of the Character they have been pleased to bestow upon him: for it is acknowledged on all hands, that he was peculiarly eminent for his Learning, and for that which his Enemies call *subtily*, and his Friends *wisedom*. That *John*, the eighth did consent that *Photius* should be Patriarch is not denied, nor that he sent his Legates with Instructions for that purpose, as both his *Epistles* and his *Commonitorium* certifie. So far no Forgery is pretended: but they say, *John* never consented to the abrogating of the fourth Council of *C. P.* and that if the Legates consented to any such thing, they went beyond their Commission, but they rather incline to think, that though the Legates were guilty of too much connivance, and so betrayed the Trust reposed in them, yet the Acts of the Council that restored *Photius* are falsified, as the Epistles of *John* the eighth are

Stola sui decessoris, Arsenio Episcopo imminente, adjecerat, &c. Guillelmus quidam alter Bibliothecarius continuator Anastasii in Adrian. II. p. 389. Anastasii Continuat. in Adrian. II. p. 339.

^m Epist. 6, & 10. ⁿ Ibid.

in all those passages which speak any thing in derogation to this fourth Council of C. P.

7. But, first, it is certain that the restoring of *Photius*, and the owning him not onely for a Patriarch, but even for a Bishop onely, is so far a derogation to this Council, which fourth Canon decrees that *Photius* is no Bishop, and pronounceth all his Episcopal Acts void: so that the Council which afterwards by the consent and approbation of *John* the eighth, acknowledges *Photius* for a Bishop and a Patriarch too, does most certainly declare this whole Canon null, and bids fair towards the justifying all that is pretended to be forged in *John's* Epistles. I cannot think the Alterations in these Epist. by whomsoever they were made, are so ancient as *Photius's* time, perhaps they may be much later than *Ivo Carnutenfis*; but if they be of so ancient date, and if it be true, that this Pope afterwards recalled his approbation and renounced communion with *Photius*, and anathematized him and his own Legates for no other reason, but because he

* Bin. Not. in
vit. Joh. Oc-
tavi, & Andr.
Schot. Pref.
ad Photii Bi-
bliothecam.

was laugh'd at for a *Tame-man** and in mockery called a *Woman Pope*, Pope *Joan* instead of Pope *John*: if he was so weak and unconstant so soon to contradict his own Epistles and his *Com-
monitorium* (which are confessed to have been sent on purpose to restore *Photius*) for no other reason, but because he was upbraided with casting such a reflexion upon his two Predecessors *Nicholas* the First and *Adrian* the Second, the sworn Enemies of *Photius*; he might then be willing to have his Epistles so altered, as to make him most consistent with his Predecessors and with himself. But much more would he be inclined to be consenting to such an alteration, if there were other motives more forcible: for the Truth is, *Photius* was the great Champion for the Liberties of the *Greek* Church, and therefore he must be sure to enjoy no favour from the Church of *Rome*, which began to be as angry with *Ignatius*, when he shewed himself in the same cause. For the first breach between the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches was occasioned by contentions about Jurisdiction, though afterwards it spread it self farther into other causes. *Holstenius* would not allow this to be the rise of the Schism; but *Pet. de Marca*† defends himself against his objections, and maintains what he had before asserted, that no other cause could be assigned; *Balzinus* adds, that he might have said farther, that the Popes of *Rome* were in the fault, and could

† Concord.
Imp. & Sa-
cred. lib. 1.
§ 4. cum Ba-
luz. observ.
& Prolegom.
p. 19.

never

never justify their pretensions: which had been no more, says he, than our Ancestours have said before, as he there shews by particular Instances. We see that Pope *John's* Epistles are as fully for abrogating this Council in *Ivo Carnutenfis* as *Photius* could make them, though he had endeavoured it never so much: and for my part, I cannot believe that *Photius* was so much concerned for the Pope's Approbation, as that he would be at the pains to falsifie the Acts of a Council upon that account: he ¹ had excommunicated and deposed Pope *Nicholas*, and though he was himself afterwards deposed, yet was he restored without the Pope's leave or knowledge, onely the Pope had some hopes of having his pretensions to *Bulgaria* succeed, and upon that sent to ratifie what he could not hinder, but when he ² found himself mistaken in his design, and *Photius* the same man still, he fell foul upon him, as his Predecessours had done. Now cannot I be perswaded, that *Photius*, if he could be so base and wicked as to make a thousand Forgeries, would yet doe it here: when he could not hope to be undiscovered, or would condescend to use such vile and foolish Arts, onely to countenance his proceedings with the appearance of that Authority, which he had in so much scorn and defiance. This would be, as if Archbishop *Cranmer*, after he had renounced the Pope's Supremacy, should have falsified the Bulls, which the Pope dispatched hitherto for his promotion to the See of *Canterbury*. The *Greeks*, we have seen, looked upon this as the healing Synod, which after the death of *Ignatius*, had reconciled all differences amongst them by making void the Council held against *Photius*, and settling him in his See again, and therefore whatever heats had passed between *Ignatius* and *Photius* (as it often happens between very good men, and had happened between their own St. *Chrysostom* and *Epiphanius*) yet now these things being composed into a happy peace and settlement, notwithstanding the Pope's Anathema, they received the names of both *Photius* and *Ignatius* into their *Diptychs*, and register'd them among their Saints whom they most solemnly commemorate in their Prayers.

8. There are so many Improbabilities in the Story against *Photius*, that they will hardly gain belief without a Miracle, and therefore we are told that in the Council held against him at *Rome*, under *Adrian* the Second, when the Book which contained his Vindication, after it had been trampled upon by all

¹ Anast. Praefat. col. 967.

² Bin. ex Baronio Conc. Tom. 9. col. 326.

the Reverend Assembly, was at last thrown by his Holiness into the fire; the flames caught at it and devoured it immediately in a strange manner, with a noisome smell, and a kind of Pitch colour tinged the fire; and besides, a great shower happening at the same time increased the flames as if so much Oil had been thrown upon them. And now who is so hardy as to deny the Authority of any thing that was said or done against *Photius*, or to doubt but that the fourth Council of C. P. is in full force, and infallibly the eighth General Council?

The first La-
ter. Council,
A.D. MCKXIII.
The second
Lat. Council,
A. MCKXXXIX.
The third
Lat. Council,
A. MCLXXX,
or MCLXXXIX.
secundum Lab.

† *Platina in*
Calisto Se-
cundo.
Innoc. Se-
cundo.
Alexan. Ter-
tio.

* *Bell. sac.*
lib. 21. c. 26.

* *Historic.*
Vindic. cap. 8.
p. 162.

§ VIII. The imperfect account we have of the three first *Lateran* Councils serves onely to shew the little esteem which was formerly had of them; how General or Infalible soever they might be; *Bellarmin* confesses that the two first are not extant, and no great discoveries have been made of them since his time; *Caranza* and *Sylvius* mention none of the three, and *Platina* passes them all over without bestowing so much as the Title of *General* upon them, and with so little remark as shews that he esteemed them none of the most considerable Actions of those Popes Lives who called them. Indeed there are few Provincial Synods the Records whereof less care has been taken of; nor could it be that any Council should universally obtain amidst so much Faction and Schism, and among so many Antipopes as then vexed and divided the Church. But it was the custome of those times to call all Councils *General* which made any tolerable settlement of the Popedom, with the approbation of some of the chief Western Princes. Thus *William of Tyre* * speaking of the Third Council of *Late-
ran*, *Cum anno precedente indicta esset per universum Latinorum or-
bem Romæ Synodus Generalis, ad eandem Synodum vocati profecti
sunt de nostro Oriente, &c.* "When there was a general Synod
"called at *Rome* the foregoing year, throughout all the Latin
"World, those who were called went out of the East, &c.
He mentions no more out of the East but himself and three
other Bishops with one Prior and one Abbat; and he, as most
think, was a *Latin*, and so 'tis probable were all the rest: how-
ever, the *Greeks* in this Council opposed the *Latins*, and would
not yield in the least. But not onely Western Councils, but
National and Provincial Synods were sometimes styled *General*;
and *Sir Roger Twisden* † gives many Instances to shew that the dis-
tinction

inction of General Councils, at least in that sense in which it is now taken, was not suddenly brought into the Church, many Synods by our Writers being called General, to which the obligation was never of that nature, as if they did not, or could not err: and the same learned Authour proves*, that the Lateran Council under Innocent II. was never received in England: thus *Matt. Paris* says, that *Stephen Langton* held a General Council at *Oxford*: yet the name of General, bestowed upon them by some well disposed to that Popes Interest, who called them, is almost all that can be shewn for the Authority of these three Councils. It doth not appear that any of the Eastern Bishops were in the two first, and it is certain that the *Greeks* dissented in the third, as they ever did, when they had no restraint upon them. 'Tis remarkable that in this Council an Oath was drawn up, by which all the Bishops, that had rejected *Alexander* the Third, abjured, and swore Allegiance to him against all men, *contra omnem hominem*, which * Oath was afterwards improved into that which all Bishops, &c. take at their Consecration.

§ IX. 1. The fourth Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* the Third, *An. MCCXV.* is reckoned the twelfth General Council in order by *Bellarmin*, *Possevin*, &c. Cardinal *Pole* with his Synod at *Lambeth* owns it for General, they frequently mention it, and never but under the Title of General: though they do not put it in the same rank among the General Councils, they profess however to receive and embrace the Faith of the Church of *Rome* according to the Decrees of the General Council of *Lateran* under *Innocent* the Third *. The Council of *Constance* * requires all Popes to make profession of the Faith established in the VIII. Sacred General Councils, whereof this is set down for one: and the Council of *Trent* * it self calls this a General Council, The Great General Council of *Lateran* *, and makes use of its authority again *: and, which is yet more to the purpose, a Council of *English* Bishops held at *Oxford* *, not above seven years after, acknowledge the Authority of this Council of *Lateran* and several times quote its Decrees. In short, as this is placed by *Bellarmin* among those Councils, which are received with full approbation beyond all dispute by the Church of *Rome*, so he looks upon it as no less than *Heresie* to deny the Authority of it; and therefore when he has produced the third Canon of this Council in defence of the Deposing Doctrine against *Barclay*, he cries

Eodem a
MCCXXII.
Magister
Stephanus de
Langeruna
Generale
Concilium ce-
lebravit apud
Oxonlum.
Hist. Maj.
ad annum
MCCXXII.
* p. 167.

* Labbé
Conc. Cy Pon-
tificale Rom.
The fourth
Lat. Council
MCCXV.

* Decret. 2.
* Session. 39.

* Session. 24.
cap. 5.
* Session. 14.
cap. 5.
* Session. 21.
cap. 9.

* Conc. Tom.
11. Part. 1.
A. MCCXXII.
cap. 24, 28;
29, 33.

cries out with great zeal and vehemence, *Quid hic Barclaius diceret? si hæc non est Ecclesia Catholica vox, ubi obsecro eam invenimus? & si est, (ut verissimè est) qui eam audire contemnit ut Barclaius fecit, annon ut Ethnicus & Publicanus, & nullo modo Christianus & pius habendus eris?* "What can Barclay say to this? if

"this be not the voice of the Catholick Church, where I pray
"shall we find it? and if it is (as questionless it is) he that de-
"spises to hear it, (as Barclay has done) is he not to be look'd
"upon as an Heathen-man, and a Publican, and by no means a

^b *Discussio Dis-*
cuss. Part. 1.
§ 2. p. 28.

"Christian or a pious Man? This *Widrington*^b complains of, as intolerably insulting; others may rather think he speaks as a Cardinal, when he was managing the Popes cause so victoriously from so infallible evidence. For such is the authority and esteem in the Church of Rome, of this Council, that it is usually called *The Great Council of Lateran*, either from the great number of Bishops in it, or from the great importance of the matters decided, or both. The number of Bishops was no less than *CCCCXII.* or in *Bellarmin's* reckoning *CCCCLXXIII.* and among these were the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* and *Jerusalem*, and the Delegates of the other two Patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, *LXXVII.* Primates and Metropolitans, besides *DCCC.* Abbats and Priors, these were all there in person, and proxies were sent innumerable: The Emperour likewise of *Constantinople*, the King of *Sicily* Emperour of the *Romans* Elect, the Kings of *England*, *France*, *Hungary*, *Jerusalem*, *Cyprus*, *Aragon*, and other Princes and Cities sent their Embassadors hither: so that never was there such a show perhaps in the world again.

2. The matters Determined both of Faith and of Discipline, were extraordinary and of the greatest importance. The Doctrines of Faith defined were Transubstantiation^c, the Articles concerning the Holy Trinity asserted and vindicated from the error of Abbat *Joachim*, and those errors condemned, and the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son declared^d. *The Deposing Doctrine established*^e. The Church of Rome declared to be the Mother and Mistres of all Christians (*universorum Christi fidelium*), and to have by God's appointment the Dominion over all other Churches of ordinary Authority by her extraordinary Prerogative^f.

3. The Decrees in points of Discipline are in their kind no less considerable; against the Incontinency of the Clergy^g,

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against their Drunkenness^b, against the Negligence and Debauchery of Prelatesⁱ, that no Clergy-man should give Sentence in Capital Causes^k. Auricular Confession enjoyned once every year^l. That no Clergy-man should take an Oath of Allegiance to any secular Persons, unless he held some temporal Estate of them^m. That no Clergy-man should be obliged to pay Taxesⁿ. The manner of proceedings in Excommunications regulated^o. The Prohibition of Marriages restrained to the fourth degree^p. Clandestine Marriages forbidden, and that Children of Parents married within the degrees prohibited declared illegitimate^q. Against Simony^r, and many other things of like nature, which are of the highest consequence, and fall under daily practice.

4. All this, one would think, were sufficient to put the Authority of the fourth Council of *Lateran* beyond all contradiction or debate: for who can imagine that a Council celebrated with so much solemnity, which decided Controversies of so mighty concernment in the Church, and determined things of continual use among all sorts and Orders of Men, should not immediately meet with the most entire submission, and always retain an undoubted Authority and veneration. Thus much would have been due, if it had not been infallible; but being infallible, what regard must every Age, and every Nation, and every Writer, at least every *Traditionary* Christian pay to it! yet this very Council so famous and so renowned in its Members, so extraordinary in its Determinations and Decrees, lay dormant, unregarded and unknown till the year MDXXXVII. that is, till above CCC. years after it was held. 'Tis very surprising that neither *Innocent* himself, nor his Nephew and next Successour but one, *Gregory* the Ninth, who published his Uncle's Decretal Epistles, and these very Decrees, which now pass for the Decrees of this Council among the rest, should put this forth among the other General Councils; 'tis strange that no other Pope or Bishop, or at least some Canonist or other learned man should ever think of it, but 'tis yet more strange that *Merlin* in his Councils printed but three years before the fourth Council of *Lateran* was published, should omit this, though he sets down the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*. But when this Council did come to light, with what Credentials did it come? what evidence does it bring for its Authority? is it printed from some ancient Manuscripts in the *Vatican*? it might

might then be wondred how it should lie so long concealed, never published, never quoted, nor mentioned, but 'tis a much greater wonder, how the Pope's own Library, so fam'd for Manuscripts, should miss of this, where so much of Popery, and the principal and nicest part of it, his own Prerogative, is concerned. Would the Popes of *Rome* keep no authentick Records in a thing of this nature, which so nearly touches them? They are not used to be so careles in these matters: the other Patriarchs, as *Cossartius* would persuade us, had all of them Copies, and the Decrees were turned into *Greek* for that very purpose, how came the Pope himself then to have none, or where had the Copies of the other Patriarchs lain so many hundred years hid? it was perhaps from one of those Copies, that we have now the Decrees of this Council: no such matter; but *Johannes Cochleus* a *German* one of *Luther's* Adversaries produces them after above *CCC.* years concealment, and about *XX.* years after the Reformation begun by *Luther* out of some obscure Manuscripts, and sends them to *Peter Crabbe* to be annexed to his Councils, and what was wanting in that, has been picked up here and there, and pieced together since.

5. But first there are no Subscriptions to this Council, and
 † In *Johanne* then *Matt. Paris*^f, who lived at that time, says that *LX. Capitula*
 MCCXV. were proposed, which some liked, others thought burthenfome.
 He mentions but *LX. Capitula*, but in the Council as we now

Papa, jam acceptâ pecuniâ, qua-
stusum hoc Concilium dissolvit gratis,
totâque Clerus abiit tristis (Hist.
Min. apud Antiquit. Britannic. in
Vit. Steph. Langton. p. 158. Edit.
Hanov.)

Vir probata
vita & Re-
ligionis exper-
ta. Vid. Matt.
Paris ad An.
 MCCCXLVIII.

have it, are *LXX.* and in *Innocent's Works*
LXXII. *Matt. Paris* in plain terms says, that
 this Council ended in *Laughter and Mockery*,
 that the Pope got a good sum of money
 from the Fathers before he would let them
 part, and that they were forced to borrow
 the money and make present payment, be-
 fore he would give them leave to be gone, and that then the
 gainfull Synod was dissolved, and the Clergy went with heavy
 hearts away. Some have excepted against the Testimony of
Matt. Paris, but without reason; for *Innocent* the Fourth gives
 him this Character, that he was a man of known virtue and piety;
 and indeed he is observed to be so impartial an Historian, that
 'tis his manner to relate the plain Truth of things, whoever
 may suffer by it, not sparing so much as *Henry* the Third, at
 whose command he wrote his History, nor the very Monks of
 his

his own Order. The Archbishop of *Spalato*, upon citing *Matth. Paris* on this occasion, says, that he knew very well how the poor Monk would be exclaimed against, as a Schismatick, a Liar, and an Enemy to the Apostolick See, whatever were alledged in his Defence. "For it is an usual thing for us *Romans*, adds he, to lay aside grave Authours, with the unjust reproach of Heresie and Schism, when they contradict our vain devices. *Godefridus*, another Historian of the same Age, agrees with *Matthew Paris*, that nothing was concluded in the Council, onely he observes indeed that the *Eastern Church* (a thing, says he, never heard of before) submitted it self to the See of *Rome*. *Platina* says the same thing, that nothing was decreed in this Council, but that it broke up of a sudden, and that the Pope going to reconcile the *Pisans* and the *Genuese*, who were then at War by Sea, and the *Cisalpinos* by Land, died at *Perugia*. Some would understand *Platina* so, as if he meant onely that nothing was done towards the Expedition into the *Holy Land*; but this can be none of his meaning, because in the last of those Decrees we now have, this whole business is fully concluded upon and determined, which *Platina* could not have been ignorant of, if there had been any such Canons then, or if they had passed for Genuine. *Naucclerus* in the words of *Platina* says many things were debated, but nothing concluded, but that however some Constitutions are said to have been published, one whereof, says he, is extant, importing, "That if one Prince offend against another, the correction of him belongs to the Pope: so it seems 'twas onely Report in his time at the latter end of the fifteenth Century, that ever any such Decrees were published, and he knew of but one then extant, which yet is not to be found in this Council, as we have it, nor in *Innocent's* Decretals, though these are the onely Canons that then could make any pretence to the Authority of this Council. The Preface to *Innocent's* Works informs us, that these Decrees were written by *Innocent* himself, and so are His, not the Councils Constitutions; if they were read in Council, that is the most that can be granted, and then they seemed to some easie or pleasing, to others burthensome: but if they were rather made, after the Council was dissolved, because mention is frequently made of the Council as past, in them, then they must be written by that Pope in haste, on his Journey, or in the hurry of

Anton. de Dominis, Lib. 6. c. 10. p. 815. Annal. ad An. MCCXV.

other business: for he went to make up a Peace between the *Pisans* and *Genoese*, and other *Italians*, but died before he could effect it at *Perugia*. The Editor of his Works printed by * *Cholinus* gathers from several places that *Innocent* himself drew them up into this Form, which we have them now in, after the dissolution of the Council: he might have added many others * (as they are set down in the Council, but they are differently numbered in the Decretals) for the Council is quoted in all of them: but these quotations *Cossartius* refers to the *Lateran* Council under *Alexander* the Third, except the forty sixth which he refers to the nineteenth Chapter, though for no reason that I can imagine, unless the reason why the Clergy should not pay Taxes were because they must keep their Churches clean, the nineteenth being against the nastiness and the profanation of Churches, and the forty sixth saying, that the Council of *Lateran* forbade the raising of Taxes or Contributions upon Churches or Churchmen. But farther yet †, *Gregory* the Ninth, though he have transcribed all the seventy *Capitula* into the Decretals, yet ascribes not one of them to the Council, but to *Innocent* himself only. *Innocentius Tertius* in *Concilio Generali*, though he often mentions the Decrees made in the *Lateran* Council under *Innocent* the Third, as the Decrees of the Council, taking no notice of *Alexander*. *Platina* likewise attributes the condemning the Errours of *Abbat Joachim* and *Almarinus*, not to the Council, but to *Innocent*.

* Cap. 29,
33, 41.

† Cap. 11,
61, 65, 42,
46, 48.

‡ *Widring-*
ton Discuss.
Discuss.
Part. I. § 1.
p. 10.

6. Notwithstanding all this, the great Cardinal *Perron* ‡ pronounces roundly, that those who denied the Authority of this Council deserve to be pitied rather than answered, perhaps because he found pitying more easie than answering: but he gives this very good reason for what he says, *because at this rate the Precept concerning Auricular confession would not be valid, nor Transubstantiation, de Fide, no nor the Procession, nor the opposite Articles to the errours of Joachim*, and so the Schoolmen in their Writings, and the Inquisitors in punishing Hereticks, had been all to blame. *Widrington* replies, that the Practice of the Church, and the inserting these Canons into the Body of the Canon Law by *Gregory* the Ninth was sufficient to give Authority to them. But this is to bring us back again from a Council to the Pope, and from him to send us to the Church diffusive, to inquire into her Faith and Practice, and so we are disappointed of the vast hopes conceived from so numerous an Assembly. But if these things had

‡ *Ibid. p. 11,*
123

had then been of *known Practice* and *undoubted Truth*, how came they not immediately to be consented to in Council, how came they to seem *grievous* and *burthenfome* to the Bishops there? was not Transubstantiation one of those Grievances, the Deposing Doctrine another, Auricular Confession a third, and might not many more Grievances be mentioned? Well, but the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and the true notion of the Trinity must be called in question, if we reject this Council: by no means, because this had been explained in other Councils as far as was necessary, and the *Greek* and *Latin* Manuscripts of *Cossartius* leave out the Procession, so that that was, it seems, but in some Copies, and cannot be proved from this Council. But all these Doctrines (says *Widrington*^a) have been received and embraced by the Catholick Church, and from thence derive their Authority. This we deny, neither the Deposing Doctrine (as *Widrington* himself confesses and maintains) nor Transubstantiation, nor Auricular Confession was ever received by the Catholick Church. But the truth is, he was forced to say something, he was loth to deny the Authority of a Council now generally received by the Church of *Rome*, he rather chose to evade the third Canon as well as he could, nor durst he either in his Answer to *Lessius*^b, or in his last Rejoinder to *Fitzherbert*^c disown the Council, but after he has raised all the Objections he was able, professes at last that as for his own part he receives it. The same Objections have been lately renewed by Father *Walsh*, yet still he too does not profess to disown the Authority of the Council.

^a *Ibid.* p. 12.

^b *Discuss.* ib.
^c *Rejoinder*
cap. 9.

7. But *Cossartius* produceth a *Greek* Translation of this Council, which, he says, is of the same Antiquity with the Council it self, and he is positive that the very sight of this is enough to convince all men the Decrees are Genuine, this Translation shewing the agreement between the *Greeks* and the *Latins*: for that the Decrees, which were made by the unanimous consent of all, might be by all observed, they were turned into the *Greek* Language for the use and benefit of those who did not understand the *Latin*. The *Greek*, he confesses, is in many places barbarous, and his Manuscripts in some places imperfect, and therefore in those places he was forc't to give us only the *Latin*, leaving void spaces in the opposite Column, where the *Greek* was defective: but here I observe that the whole first Chapter is not extant in the *Greek* Copy, nor does it appear by

other business: for he went to make up a Peace between the *Pisans* and *Genoese*, and other *Italians*, but died before he could effect it at *Perugia*. The Editor of his Works printed by

^w *Cap.* 29,
33, 41.

^z *Cap.* 11,
61, 65, 42,
46, 48.

^w *Cholinus* gathers from several places that *Innocent* himself drew them up into this Form, which we have them now in, after the dissolution of the Council: he might have added many others ^z (as they are set down in the Council, but they are differently numbred in the Decretals) for the Council is quoted in all of them: but these quotations *Cossartius* refers to the *Lateran* Council under *Alexander* the Third, except the forty sixth which he refers to the nineteenth Chapter, though for no reason that I can imagine, unless the reason why the Clergy should not pay Taxes were because they must keep their Churches clean, the nineteenth being against the nastiness and the profanation of Churches, and the forty sixth saying, that the Council of *Lateran* forbade the raising of Taxes or Contributions upon Churches or Churchmen. But farther yet ^y, *Gregory* the Ninth, though he have transcribed all the seventy *Capitula* into the Decretals, yet ascribes not one of them to the Council, but to *Innocent* himself onely. *Innocentius Tertius* in *Concilio Generali*, though he often mentions the Decrees made in the *Lateran* Council under *Innocent* the Third, as the Decrees of the Council, taking no notice of *Alexander*. *Platina* likewise attributes the condemning the Errors of *Abbat Joachim* and *Almarinus*, not to the Council, but to *Innocent*.

^y *Widring-*
ton Discuss.
Discuss.
Part. I. § 1.
p. 10.

6. Notwithstanding all this, the great Cardinal *Perron* ^z pronounces roundly, that those who denied the Authority of this Council deserve to be pitied rather than answered, perhaps because he found pitying more easie than answering: but he gives this very good reason for what he says, *because at this rate the Precept concerning Auricular confession would not be valid, nor Transubstantiation, de Fide, no nor the Procession, nor the opposite Articles to the errors of Joachim, and so the Schoolmen in their Writings, and the Inquisitors in punishing Hereticks, had been all to blame.* *Widrington* replies, that the Practice of the Church, and the inserting these Canons into the Body of the Canon Law by *Gregory* the Ninth was sufficient to give Authority to them. But this is to bring us back again from a Council to the Pope, and from him to send us to the Church diffusive, to inquire into her Faith and Practice, and so we are disappointed of the vast hopes conceived from so numerous an Assembly. But if these things

^z *Ibid.* p. 11,
12,

had

had then been of *known Practice* and *undoubted Truth*, how came they not immediately to be consented to in Council, how came they to seem *grievous* and *burthensome* to the Bishops there? was not Transubstantiation one of those Grievances, the Deposing Doctrine another, Auricular Confession a third, and might not many more Grievances be mentioned? Well, but the Procession of the Holy Ghost, and the true notion of the Trinity must be called in question, if we reject this Council: by no means, because this had been explained in other Councils as far as was necessary, and the *Greek* and *Latin* Manuscripts of *Cossartius* leave out the Procession, so that that was, it seems, but in some Copies, and cannot be proved from this Council. But all these Doctrines (says *Widrington*^a) have been received and embraced by the Catholick Church, and from thence derive their Authority. This we deny, neither the Deposing Doctrine (as *Widrington* himself confesses and maintains) nor Transubstantiation, nor Auricular Confession was ever received by the Catholick Church. But the truth is, he was forced to say something, he was loth to deny the Authority of a Council now generally received by the Church of *Rome*, he rather chose to evade the third Canon as well as he could, nor durst he either in his Answer to *Lessius*^b, or in his last Rejoinder to *Fitzherbert*^c disown the Council, but after he has raised all the Objections he was able, professes at last that as for his own part he receives it. The same Objections have been lately renewed by Father *Walsh*, yet still he too does not profess to disown the Authority of the Council.

^a *Ibid.* p. 12.

^b *Discuss. ib.*

p. 22.

^c *Rejoinder*
cap. 9.

7. But *Cossartius* produceth a *Greek* Translation of this Council, which, he says, is of the same Antiquity with the Council it self, and he is positive that the very sight of this is enough to convince all men the Decrees are Genuine, this Translation shewing the agreement between the *Greeks* and the *Latins*: for that the Decrees, which were made by the unanimous consent of all, might be by all observed, they were turned into the *Greek* Language for the use and benefit of those who did not understand the *Latin*. The *Greek*, he confesses, is in many places barbarous, and his Manuscripts in some places imperfect, and therefore in those places he was forc't to give us onely the *Latin*, leaving void spaces in the opposite Column, where the *Greek* was defective: but here I observe that the whole first Chapter is not extant in the *Greek* Copy, nor does it appear by

any vacancies left in the Print that the Manuscript was imperfect, but that the whole Chapter was omitted by the *Greek* Translatour, and so if this Manuscript prove any thing, it proves that the *Greek* Church did not concur with the *Latin* in the Article of Transubstantiation; for this being the first time that ever that Doctrine was asserted in a General Council, certainly the *Greeks* would never have omitted to translate so material a Passage of the Council wherein this is contained, if they had agreed to it. All that part of the third Chapter which concerns the Deposing Doctrine is likewise wanting in the *Greek*; but here he tells us is a leaf of the Manuscript wanting both in the *Greek* and the *Latin*: 'twere to be wished we could know how it came to be wanting; but however this serves to confirm to us, that nothing is deficient in the first Chapter but that the Manuscript is entire, though the whole Chapter be onely in *Latin*, and so the Doctrine of Transubstantiation had the ill luck to be left out in the Translation of the first Council, in which it ever was defined, for which no other reason can be given, if this Manuscript be Authentick, but that the *major* part of the Church, *i. e.* all the East, and four Patriarchs of five rejected it. The Translatour often mistakes the *Latin*, and quite alters the sense, and in the second Chapter where the Catholick Doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity is explained, the Particle *non* is omitted in the *Latin* and *in* in the *Greek*, a small mistake in a matter of Faith; but such a mistake as could not easily escape in both Languages, or, if it did, must needs give a very exact and faithfull account of what was defined in the Council. This and other gross faults do not make much for the credit of this Manuscript, nor engage us necessarily to believe upon its sole Authority, that the *Greek* Church received the fourth *Lateran* Council, or indeed that it was ever received at all till of late years: which many learned men in the Church of *Rome* have been so sensible of, that they have never alledged its Authority, but when they had nothing else to alledge. For neither the more ancient of our Modern Divines, says *Widrington* ^d, who are vehement maintainers of the Popes power to depose Princes, as *Victoria*, *Corduba*, *Sanders* and others, nor Cardinal *Bellarmin* himself in his Controversies did make any great reckoning of the Decree of this great Council. This was *Bellarmin*'s last Refuge, when he was beaten off from his other Arguments by *Barclay*, and though he urges it with great confidence and earnest-

^d *Last Remedy*, c. 9.

earnestness, yet if he had much relied upon its Authority, he would have used it before: for if the Council be General, the Argument is unanswerable and infallible in their account, whatever disguises may be put upon it. The opposers of this *Lateran* Council farther add^e, that the Council of *Constance* meant not this Council, but that of *Lateran* under *Alexander* the Third, and that the Council of *Trent* spoke according to the common opinion, that is, in plain terms, the Council of *Trent* was mistaken, and that in a matter of no small consequence: for if one General Council tell the world that another is General which really is not so, what assurance can men have of any Council, that it is General? or what Errours may not a General Council by this means lead men into? What they answer to the Testimony of the Council held at *Oxford* so soon after I am yet to learn: but it can be no wonder that our Clergy should at that time yield to any thing the Pope desired when the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had had so fresh an Instance of his Power, who had been suspended in this very Council of *Lateran*, and was willing to comply with any thing that might advance his Interest at *Rome*. The Pope openly styled King *John* his Vassal, and had reduced all Christendom to such dependence and obedience, that there was not one of those secular Princes and States, that gave their attendance at this Council, but were some way or other obnoxious to him and stood in awe of him, the *Croisade* left the Popes at liberty to play their own game at home, and had gained them more in the *East* than could ever be gotten by all the Councils that were ever called. *Henry* Brother to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* was then possessed of *Constantinople* with the Title and Honour of *Greek* Emperour, and the four Eastern Patriarchs were all Western Bishops, one *Frenchman* and three *Italians*, who held their Patriarchates of the Pope, and were never owned in their respective Titular Sees. Upon this account 'tis rather strange that any demur should be made to this Pope's Dictates in Council, or that this Council should not be every where revered as an Oracle, than that one Nation, which had smarted so much under the Pope's displeasure, should acknowledge it in his Successour's days; for *Honorius* the Third was no degenerate Successour to *Innocent* the Third, and our Nation then had learnt to submit to harder terms than these: yet sure there must be something in these Decrees very irksome, which could not pass the Votes

• Widing-
ton, ib. p. 20.

of an Assembly so entirely addicted to the Pope, and here is no mention of the Doctrines of the *Lateran* Council in that of *Oxford*, besides, 'tis remarkable that *Richard*, Bishop of *Sarisbury*, *An. MCCXVII* two years after the Council, cites it c. 7. yet c. 4. where he gives an Exposition of the Catholick Faith, does not follow this Council in putting down Transubstantiation for one Article of it. And Sir *Roger Twissden* ^f shews, that notwithstanding this Council of *Oxford*, the fourth Council of *Lateran* was not received in *England*. Not to dissemble any thing material in this business, *Mat. Paris* himself ^g relates, that the Arch-deacon of *Saint Albans* quotes the twenty first Canon as a Canon of this Council, and so *Innocent* the Fourth calls it; but *Alexander* the Fourth takes not the least notice of this Canon when he reverses *Innocent's* Decree in favour of the Monks, giving them liberty to hear Confessions without the consent of the Parish Priests, nor do his Cardinals, when he advised with them ^h upon this occasion, in the Instrument which they drew up about that Controversie, make mention of any Canon of a General Council in favour of the Parish Priests. But whether it were that it could not be easily believed, that so many men should meet together to no purpose, or that *Innocent's* Decrees in the *Lateran* Council were mistaken for the Decrees of the Council it self; or whether *Innocent* the Fourth having called it a General Council, 'twas thought no good manners to contradict him, however it were, in process of time the Canons were owned as genuine, and some of them more early than one would expect, as may be seen particularly of the twenty first Canon, *Omnis utriusque sexûs*, &c. Yet after all a late Doctour of the *Sorbon*, with the Approbation of the Faculty, ⁱ has concluded from the foregoing Arguments, that no Canons were made by the Council, but that some Decrees onely being framed by the Pope and read in Council, some of them to the *major* part seemed burthenfome.

^f Historical Vindication, cap. 8. p. 165.

^g Ad Annum MCCXLVI.

^h *Launoii explicat. Tradit. Eccles. circa Canon. utriusque sexûs*, c. 2.

ⁱ Du Pin, *Dissert.* p. 573.

The first Council of *Lyons*, A. D. MCCXLV. ^k *Ep. part. 7. ad Raymundum Formentinum*, p. 228, &c.

§ X. 1. *Launoy* ^k proves against *Bellarmin* that the first Council of *Lyons* under *Innocent* the Fourth was not General, because *Innocent* in his Sentence against *Frederick*, though he often mentions the Council, yet never calls it General, or Universal, or OEcumenical, and so in his Epistles to the Arch-bishop of *Sens*, and to the Chapter of that Church, to the Bishops of *England*, and to the Bishop of *Offia*, he never so much as once calls it General, which certainly he would have done, if he could have ascribed

ascribed to it so great Authority; but he called thither onely the King of *France*, the Arch-bishop of *Sens* and his Chapter, besides the Bishops of *England* and the Bishop of *Ostia*. The Bishops of *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Germany*, *Aragon*, *Castile* and *Portugal*, it doth not appear that he ever called. For *Odoricus Rainaldus* in his Continuation of *Baronius* gives a Register of the Epistles which *Innocent* wrote upon this account, but mentions none sent to any of these Bishops. I omit, says *Launoy*, the Eastern Bishops, *Qui profecto vocati non fuere*, who assuredly were not called. He shews that *Bellarmin* contradicts himself in this matter, and goes against his own Principles, tacitly retracting in his eighteenth Chapter *de Concil. lib. 1.* what he had said in his fifth of this Council, and besides, does abuse *Palmerius* and *Platina*, whose Authority he brings to prove it General, whereas neither of them say any such thing. And thus, says he, has *Bellarmin* run himself into such difficulties as he will never be able to get clear of: For if the Conditions required by him to make a Council General be true, then is this not General; if this be General then are not those Conditions rightly lay'd down, nor the business truly stated. But, as for *Palmerius* and *Platina*, who are falsely quoted, he can never bring himself off, unless he pretend negligence, which indeed makes the case but so much the worse.

2. This Council of *Lyons* is not in *Nicolin's* Councils printed at *Venice* MDLXXXV. with the Approbation of *Sixtus* the Fifth, under this Title, *Conciliorum omnium, tam Generalium quam Provincialium, quæ jam inde ab Apostolicis temporibus hæcenus legitime celebrata haberi potuerunt.* *Caranza* likewise and *Sylvius* either knew nothing of it, or thought it not worth their taking notice of.

3. But it is more considerable¹, that in the late contest between the Pope and the King of *France*, the Court of *Rome* contending that the *Regale* are onely Concessions of the Church which were restrained in the Council of *Lyons*, and that therefore they ought not to be extended to Churches which were not then subject to the *French*; the Arch-bishop of *Rheims*, in an Assembly at *Paris* of twenty six Bishops and six that were named to Bishopricks, being chief of the Committy of six deputed to consider the affair of the *Regale*, and make Report, declares that the Council of *Lyons* was so little considered, that in the famous contest between *Philip* the Fair and *Boniface* the Eighth, the King founded his pretensions on the practice of
St. Lewis

¹ Burner's History of the Rights of Princes, &c. p. 309.

St. Lewis and not on the Decree of that Council. However this Council was General enough to depose the Emperour *Frederick* the Second, and to be appealed to as a sufficient warrant for the deposing of Emperours ever since. But the *English* could not get Justice done them upon *Martin* the Pope's Legate, though they often and earnestly demanded it in the name of the whole Nation: they remonstrated several times, and made divers and repeated Complaints of the great Extorsions that had been made upon them, but were sent away without Redress; they complained that there was an infinite number of *Italians* in *England*, who exhausted all the Revenues of the Church, but performed nothing at all of the Duties required, that besides Subsidies and other ways, the bare Revenue paid yearly out of this Kingdom to *Italians* amounted to above threescore thousand Marks, which was more than the King's Revenue. But all they could say availed nothing; This General Council ^m was called for deposing Kings, not for redressing Grievances: and for the Glory of Popes and the Terror of all succeeding Emperours: To explain the Story of this Council, *Sixtus Quintus* ⁿ placed the following Inscription in the *Vatican*; *Innocentio Quarto, Pont. Max. Imp. Fredericus Secundus, hostis Ecclesia declaratur, Imperioque privatur*; "*Frederick* the Second, Emperour, is declared an Enemy to the Church, and deprived of his Empire by *Innocent* the Fourth, Pope. And while the Emperour was thus depressed, the same Council advanced the Cardinals, and set them on Horse-back in Red Hats and Purple Robes.

^m *Con. Tom. II. part. 1.*

ⁿ *Angelus Roccha, Bibliothec. Vatican. p. 208.*

The second Council of *Lyons*, A. D. MCCCLXXIV.
^a *Pachymeres Fragm. a Dionys. Petravio. edit. p. 330.*

§ XI. The History of the second Council of *Lyons* is in short thus; *Michael Paleologus* ^o after he had put out the Eyes of the young Emperour *Johannes Lascaris*, whose Guardian he was, and was excommunicated by *Arsenius* the Patriarch, and by this means became odious to all mankind, and was in imminent danger from *Charles* King of *Sicily*, who was preparing to recover *C. P.* lately regained by *Michael*, *Michael* being in these circumstances bethought himself of recalling the two Churches, as a proper expedient to settle himself in his new gotten Dominions: but his Patriarch *Joseph* was utterly averse to any such proposal, and had engaged himself by an Oath never to agree to any Union with the *Latin* Church upon the Terms insisted on: him therefore *Michael* forces to resign, and hide himself in a Monastery, but

but upon condition of refuming his place again, if this business * Pachym. could not be effected with the * *Latins*: the rest of the Clergy p. 335.

he proceeds ^p with in a powerfull way of Conviction, by Punishment, Imprisonment and Torments. *Beccus* the *Chartophylax*, a man of a ready wit and ^a a fluent tongue, not without much difficulty and hard usage is at last in Prison persuaded to apply himself to the study of certain Books very edifying for the purpose, and so is converted to the Emperour's party, and argues the point against all Opposers. In the ^e mean time *Theophanes*, ^{ib.} p. 334.

Bishop of *Nice*, and *Germanus*, once Patriarch of *C. P.* a known Favourite of the Emperours, with three of the Principal Officers at Court are sent to *Lyons*, where in a short time all is ^e concluded with *Gregory* the Tenth, and the Pope's utmost desire fulfilled; and *Beccus* is made Patriarch for his pains as soon as they came home. But at their return these men were the common object of hatred to their Countreymen ^e, and whatever Promises and Protections they had made in the Council, they soon forgot them all; whereupon Pope *Martin* excommunicates *Michael*; who was most of all detested on both sides, and after about seven years spent in a troublesome Reign, died unlamented, and was not allowed the most ordinary Rites of Burial by his own Son. ^{ib.} p. 357.

Bonorum, videlicet, Publicationibus, Relegationibus, Carceribus, Excommunicationibus, Plagis, Mutilationibus, & id genus aliis Pœnis. Angelus Roc. *Biblioth. Vatican. ex Niceph. Greg. lib. 5. — in terribilissimos carceres conjectus fuit.* (*Beccus*) *ib. ex eod.*

^p Pp. 345, 347. ^a P. 329.

^e *Con. Tom. 11. part. 1. p. 996.*

§ XII. After a Vacancy of the Popedom for about eleven months, *Philip* the Fair had procured *Clement* the Fifth to be chosen Pope, but did before oblige him by Oath to certain Conditions, which being drawn up under six Heads were agreed upon and sworn to: one of which was to absolve *Philip* from the Censures of his Predecessour *Boniface* the Eighth; another, that he should brand the memory of *Boniface* with Anathema for the Crimes charged upon him, which were no less than Heresie, Schism and Perjury. The first *Clement* readily performed, but stuck at the second; and at once, both to avoid the Odium of the thing, and to put a better colour on those Crimes in himself, which he was required to condemn in *Boniface*, he was advised to call a Council: he did so at *Vienne*, in which he found an easie expedient to acquit *Boniface* from the Crimes objected,

Council of *Vienne*, A. D. MCCCXI.

H

and

¶ Vercerius
de rebus gestis
Hen. Septimi,
p. 4. citatur
à Bino, in
notis ad Con-
cilium.
* Conc. Tom. II.
part. 2.

¶ Proem. ad
Clement. Con-
stitut.

¶ Conc. Afric.
Art. 6.

¶ Tit. 34.
p. 130.

Quod Concili-
um dici non
merebatur,
quia ex capi-
te proprio om-
nia fecit Dominus Papa, non respondente, neque consentiente sacro Concilio: apud Twisden, Hi-
storical Vindication, cap. 8. p. 164. ex MSS. A great part of this Walter de Hemingford's
Works, all his Chronicon, which goes down to Henry the Third's death, were printed this
year at Oxford, and we are promised the rest soon.

Council of
Constance,
A. MCCCLXIV.

and himself from the performance of his Oath: This was the ground and occasion of the calling this Council. But since they were met, the better, 'tis likely to amuse the King, and that their onely business might not appear to be to delude him, they proceed to condemn the *Bignardi* and *Beguina* and certain Hereticks of those times; and for the abominable Enormities committed by the *Knights Templers*, they dissolve that Order, and settle their Endowments upon the *Knights Hospitalers* of Jerusalem. The Feast of *Corpus Christi* was likewise in this Council confirmed, and the Procession on that day instituted, and the Study of the Eastern Languages encouraged. As for the *Clementine* Constitutions, most of them were made before or after the Council, and published by *Clement's* Successour, *John* the Twenty second. But one Constitution had been worth at least four Books of the Five, viz. *ut prima sedis Episcopus Princeps Sacerdotum, vel universalis Ecclesia non appelletur*; that the Bishop of the principal Church should not be called Prince of the Priests, or of the Universal Church: as it had been formerly determined in a Council at *Carthage*, and was now proposed among other particulars to this Council by *Durandus* in a Treatise concerning the manner of holding General Councils published by him at the Command of *Clement* the Fifth, and presented to the Council. But *Clement* in his Constitutions is so far from any such Design, that he has not so much as revoked the Decision of Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, in the Bull *Unam sanctam*, where he determines it to be a Point accessory to Salvation, that every humane Creature submit it self to the Bishop of Rome. The observation of *Walter de Hemingford*, who liv'd not long after is considerable; "It did not deserve (says he) to be called a Council, because the Pope did all of his own Head, without the Consent or Answer of the Sacred Council."

§ XIII. 1. Before we proceed to the Council of *Florence*, it will be necessary to consider a little the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, which *Bellarmin* reckons amongst the Councils that are in part onely approved, and that part of them which is not approved is contradicted.

tradicted by the *Florentine* Council, the great controversy being, whether the Pope or a Council be superiour: the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* have determined in favour of Councils, and the Council of *Florence* and 5th Council of *Lateran* in favour of Popes.

2. To appease the Schism between the contending Popes a Council met at *Pisa*, from whence it was removed to *Constance*, and of the several Popes, *John* the Twenty third confirms the Acts of the Council, and submits himself to its determination, and so is deposed; *Gregory* the Twelfth resigns his pretensions to the Popedom; *Benedict* the Thirteenth is disclaimed by most of his own Abettors and deprived in Council. *Martin* the Fifth, who had been present all along both at *Pisa* and at *Constance* is chosen, and by his Bull confirmed all that had passed, as he was concerned to doe, the validity of his own consecration depending upon the validity of the Councils Decrees. The Council determines, "That the Synod gathered toge-

"ther in the Holy Ghost, lawfully making
"a General Council, representing the Ca-
"tholick Church militant, has power im-
"mediately from Christ, to which every one
"of whatsoever state or dignity (even the
"Pope) is bound to obey, in those things
"which belong to the Faith, and the extir-
"pation of the aforefaid Schism, and the
"general Reformation of the Church in its
"Head and Members, &c. It obliges * all

succeeding Popes for ever to call a Council once in ten years, ordaining that the next immediate Council should be called at the end of five years, and another seven years after, *Hoc Edicto perpetuo sancimus, decernimus & ordinamus*, &c. "By this perpetual Edict we give our Sanction, "we decree and ordain, &c. and prescribes besides a certain form of Profession of Faith to be used by all Popes for the future. *Martin* ^b, according to the Council's Decree, issues forth his Bull for the calling another Council, as he owns himself obliged to doe by virtue of the same Decree. Lastly, ^c in a solemn manner he confirms the Acts of the Council, yet after all these Professions and Overt-acts one hard word comes in and spoils all; he confirms all that had been done *Conciliariter*, and from the ambiguity of this word, those who are against the Superiority

The first
Council of
Pisa, A. D.
MCCCCLX.

Quod ista Synodus in Spiritu Sancto congregata legitime Generale Concilium faciens, Ecclesiam Catholicam militantem representans potestatem à Christo immediate habet, cui quilibet cuiuscunque status vel dignitatis, etsi Papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his qua pertinent ad fidem & extirpationem dicti Schismatis, & Reformationem generalem Ecclesie Dei in Capite & Membris, &c.

* Sess. 39.

* Sess. 44.

* Sess. 45.

of Councils take advantage to say, that those Canons which determin *that* were never confirmed, though their Adversaries have reason to insist, that whatever the meaning of the word may be, yet 'tis great injustice to exclude the most regular and unanimous Acts of the Council from the extent of it.

3. *Martin* the Fifth, *Pius* the Second, and *Innocent* the Second, did notwithstanding set forth their Constitutions, forbidding Appeals from the Pope to a General Council, which Constitutions are inserted into the *Bulla Cæne Domini*, though to deny the

lawfulness of such Appeals is esteemed by *Gerson* * no better than down right Heresie; "It is now constantly asserted to be Heresie, "condemned by a most expresse Constituti- "on of the Council of *Constance*, and there "also put in practice: for in that very Council the *Poles* appealed from *Martin* to a future Council upon this occasion: one *John Falkenburg*, a Frier ^d, had writ a Book full of Treason against the State, and had laid a design of a Massacre throughout all *Pol-*

land: the *Poles* would have his Book condemned in Council, as it deserved, but *Martin* desired to be excused, he designed no such matter; upon which the *Poles* appeal; as they had reason; and immediately upon *Martin's* Constitution forbidding Appeals, *Gerson* published a Treatise among others of the same

subject under this Title ^e, *An liceat in causis Fidei à summo Pontifice appellare & ejus judicium declinare?* "Whether is it lawfull in "matters of Faith to appeal from the Pope, and to wave his "judgment? wherein he shews that *Martin's* Constitution overthrows not onely the Councils of *Pisa* and *Constance*, but his own Election too, as likewise the Deposition and Renunciation of *John* the Twenty third, *Benedict* the Thirteenth, and *Gregory* the Twelfth; for how can a Pope be deposed, if no Appeal can be made from him. *Cui Appellationi cum respondendum esset, lata est, ut dicitur, in Consistorio Generali ac publico, quod ultimum Constantiæ celebratum est, minuta quadam sub forma Bullæ, &c. continebátque in nullo casu licere Appellationem à Papa facere, nec ejus judicium in causis Fidei declinare, planè, contra Legem Dei Decretaque Concilii* ^f: "When they were to answer to that Appeal (says *Gerson*) "there was drawn, as it was commonly said, in the last General and

* Ric. Hist. Con. General. Lib. 2. cap. 2. § 25.

Constante nunc asseritur, quod est Hæresis damnata per constitutionem expressissimam, & practicam in Concilio Constantensi.

^d Richer. Hist. Conc. Gener. Lib. 2. cap. 3. § 22.

^e Ibid. § 25.

^f § 24 & 25.

“and publick Consistory, which was held at *Constance*, a short
“abstract in the form of a Bull, &c. wherein it was affirmed,
“that it was lawfull in no case to make an Appeal from the
“Pope, or to decline his judgment in matters of Faith, plainly
“against the Laws of God, and the Decrees of the Council;
“so that here it seems we have the same Council contradicting it
“self.

§ XIV. 1. The Council of *Basil*, as *Richerius* observes, was but the practick and executive part of the Council of *Constance*, and therefore in the second Sess. they lay down the fourth and fifth Sess. of *Constance* as the ground and Foundation upon which all their proceedings were to depend. This startled Pope *Eugenius*, so that he immediately sent to his Legate to dissolve this Council and indist one at *Bononia*, under pretence of receiving the *Greeks* there with more conveniency, and thither he would come and preside in person. The Cardinal St. *Angelo*, his Nuncio, dissuades him all he can. The Synod in the mean time is dealt with about a dissolution by the Bishops of *Tarentum* and *Colosse*, but is refractory; and in the third Session desires his Holiness not to be troublesome, they recount to him the Decrees of the Council of *Constance* concerning a Council's being above the Pope; in a word, they tell him plainly, 'tis not in his power to dissolve them. In the twelfth Session, they set him a time, in which if he think fit to join himself to the Council, well; if not, they cannot help it, he must take what follows: the time set was at first sixty days, and in the thirteenth Session, because these were expired, and he had not revoked his Bulls, whereby he pretended to have dissolved the Council, he is accused of Contumacy; yet in the fourteenth Session they were so kind as to enlarge the time to ninety days, and to propose three several forms to him, by which he might acknowledge the Authority of the Council and join himself to it. The Pope could not but remember how the Council of *Constance* had dealt with three of his Predecessours, and so at last is brought to a compliance: he owns the Council to be general, and recalls the Bulls issued forth for its dissolution, and declares them void, and that the Council is and had been all along from the beginning legal, and that his Bulls to dissolve it did not in the least invalidate its Authority. Hereupon his Legates are admitted into the

The Council
of *Basil*,
MCCCXXXI.
Lib. 3. cap. 1.
§ 1.

the Council, but not before they had been sworn to the Decrees of the fourth and fifth Session of *Constance* which define the Superiority of Councils. This was done in the 16th Session, but would not suffice it seems; for in the eighteenth Session they again repeat and renew these Decrees now a Fifth time, and give this reason for it, because it highly concerned the whole Christian World to be certified in the point that the Pope in three cases is inferiour to a Council, viz. when matters of Faith, or the extirpation of Schism, or the reformation of the Church in *Capite & Membris* is in agitation.

2. Now one would imagine all had been well between the Pope and the Council; yet no sooner was the Emperour *Sigismund* dead, of whom he stood most in awe; but *Eugenius* appoints a Council at *Ferrara*, and that of *Basil* is as angry and peremptory with him as ever; and, Session the twenty sixth, sends him word, that unless he appear either in person or by his Legate within sixty days, they will proceed against him; and they are as good as their word, for at the end of that term of time, they pronounce his Bull void, and shew the invalidity of it in all particulars, insisting on the Council of *Constance*: Session the thirty third, they proceed yet higher; and in vindication of that Council pronounce all those Hereticks, that deny the Superiority of Councils, and hereupon pronounce *Eugenius* not onely a Heretick, but a Heretick relapsed; and this they did after the most strict and deliberate determination, in the most deliberate and solemn manner.

3. Thus we see the Decrees of the Council of *Constance* were in five several Sessions confirmed by this of *Basil*, all which were ratified by *Eugenius* himself; and *Pius* the Second, in the same Bull, whereby he retracts that which he had written for the Council of *Basil* against *Eugenius*, formally approves the Council of *Constance*, without making any Exceptions; besides, they were twice confirmed after his falling off from the Council, and all those were declared Hereticks, not excepting *Eugenius* himself, that should oppose this Doctrine: so that in the sense of this Council, and of those that acknowledge its Authority about half of the Roman Communion are Hereticks, and particularly *Eugenius*, with all the Popes since his time. *Panormitan*^b indeed undertook to prove that *Eugenius* was no Heretick, but was answered by *Segovia*; and *Almain* President of the Council, and

^a Richer.
Lib. 3. cap. 6.
§ 5.

Panormitan himself afterwards wrote a Treatise, *Pro autoritate, veritate & iustitia, Basileensis Concilii*; For the authority, truth "and justice of the Council of *Basil*: Which makes it evident, that what he before said, was rather to serve his Master the King of *Aragon*, then Feudatory to the Pope, than to speak his own sense, and indeed there were none but the Bishops of *Italy* and *Aragon* that withstood the Decree. 'Tis very well known how wonderfully the Popedom illuminated *Pius* the Second, and *Julian* Cardinal of *Sancta Crux*, who had been as stout a Champion for the Council of *Basil*, at last was brought over to the Pope's Faction. But I cannot say *Panormitan* dealt so foul as these two or as Cardinal *Cusanus* ¹ who after he had writ for the Authority ¹ *Ibid.* § 6. of the Council of *Basil* against *Eugenius*, was at last drawn over to his side, and was sometime after created Cardinal by *Nicholas* the Fifth, upon which *Richerius* has this Remark *, that many ¹ *Ib.* p. 479. who stand up in defence of the Truth while they are in a low condition, desert it upon hopes of making their Fortune; *Presertim desiderio Purpure Cardinalitiae*; Especially with a desire to get a Cardinal's Hat. And upon this occasion he quotes *John Major*

c. 18. comment. in *Mat.* vers. fin. "It ought not to appear strange to any Body (says *John Major*) that more are for the Pope against a Council, than for a Council against the Pope; they may assert a Council's Authority above the Pope as long as they please, since the Pope confers Ecclesiastical Dignities and Benefices; whereas a Council has nothing to give; but on the other hand, is a sharp Censour of Manners and a rigid Exactour of strict Discipline. So that in his time the greatest part of the *Roman* Communion were Hereticks according to the Council of *Basil*'s Decree; but in this Session whereof we have been speaking, *Almain* tells ¹ *Panormitan*, "That it was falsely asserted by *Panormitan*, ¹ *Ibid.* p. 466. that they had more Bishops of their side, when even those who openly declare for them, talk quite otherwise in private Houses amongst their Friends than when they speak in

Nemini deberi mirum videri, quod plures Papam esse supra Concilium, quam contra, Concilium supra Papam, doceant, cum Papa det dignitates & beneficia Ecclesiastica, Concilium vero nihil det: imò est Censor acerrimus morum, atque disciplina severioris assertor.

Episcopos suarum partium, cum illi ipsi, quos affectus habet, longè aliter inter privatos parietes cum familiaribus, quam in publico Sessionum & Actionum Theatro loqui & dicere soleant se libertate dicenda sententia non pollere, & à principibus suis præpediri metu amittendorum Temporalium.

"the

" the Theatre of the Sessions and Actions of the Council, and
 " they used to say, that they had not liberty to give their opi-
 " nion, and that they were kept in by their own Princes, for
 " fear of losing their Temporalities. He means the Bishops
 of *Italy* and *Arragon*, for all the rest were for the Decree of the
 three Verities^m, as they are termed, of Catholick Faith, where-
 by 'tis pronounced Herefie to maintain the Pope's Authority
 above that of a General Council.

^m Sess. 39.

The Council of *Basil* proceed to the Election of a new Pope,
 and make choice of *Felix* the Fifth, though he soon after re-
 signed upon the valuable consideration of being made Dean of
 the College of Cardinals, and perpetual Legate of the Aposto-
 lick See for all *Germany*.

Council of
Florence,
An. Dom.
 MCCCXXXVIII.
Secundum
Labbe.

§ 15. 1. By this means *Eugenius* the Fourth was at liberty to
 call the Council of *Florence*, and to carry all things at his pleasure
 in it. Thither the *Greeks* are invited to enslave themselves to the
 Pope rather than to the *Turk*, and by pawning their Consciences
 to save their Bodies and Estates. The business had been in agi-
 tation under *Martin* the Fifth, who sent his *Nuncio* to *Constanti-*
nople to prepare matters, and he bespeaks the *Greek* Emperour

ⁿ *Sanctissimus & Beatissimus, qui
 habet Cælestæ arbitrium, qui est Do-
 minus in Terris, Successor Petri,
 Christus Domini, Dominus Universi,
 Regum Pater, Orbis Lumen, sum-
 mus Pontifex, Papa Martinus Divi-
 nâ Providentiâ Papa Quintus mandat
 mihi Magistro Antonio Massano, &c.
 Acta Conc. Senens. ap. Richer. L. 3.
 p. 289.*

^o *Ibid.*

^p *Hist. Conc.
 Florent. Con-
 cil. Vol. 13.*

and the Patriarch in a very ⁿ magnificent
 style, " The most Holy and Blessed, who
 " has the disposal of Heaven, who is Lord
 " on Earth, the Successour of *S. Peter*, the
 " Christ of the Lord, the Lord of the Uni-
 " verse, the Father of Kings, the Light of
 " the World, the Chief Priest *P. Martin* by
 " Divine Providence the Fifth, commands
 " me *Mr. Anthony Massanus, &c.* This *Nuncio*,
 when he has done his Preamble, and wiped his mouth, tells
 the Emperour that his Embassadors at *Rome* ^o had desired an
 Union of the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches: but the Emperour
 in return says that his Embassadors went beyond their Com-
 mission if ever they proposed a Union with the *Roman* Church
 in general terms, but that which they had in command was
 onely thus much, to procure a General Council, after the order
 and manner of the seven Holy General Councils, and then the
 Holy Ghost would confirm it, and establish it into a peace.
 In the time of *Eugenius* the Fourth the *Greeks* came ^p, and were
 pressed

pressed by importunity and subtilty, and wrought upon by convenient management to consent to more than ever they designed, or than their Church would afterwards own. *Bessarion* Archbishop of *Nice*, and *Isidore* Archbishop of *Thessalonica* for their good services were created Cardinals, but not a *Greek* would ever own this Council, except those few that were present at it, and subscribed it, being over-ruled by more persuasive kind of Arguments than any *Marcus Ephesus* and his party could produce. I shall enter into no long story of this Council, 'tis sufficient that it contradicts the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* in the point of the Pope's Supremacy, and that it was its main business and design to contradict them. *Bellarmin*, *Posssevin*, *Binius*, *Duval*, &c. maintain that the Decrees of the Council of *Constance* and *Basil* are nulled by a contrary Decree at *Florence*, though *Bellarmin* and *Duval*, as *Richerius* observes ^q, retract what they have said, and contradict themselves, yet still they exclaim against all that adhere to the Decrees of these two Councils as Schismatics and Hereticks, though sometimes in a fit of good nature they would fain offer something in their excuse. *Duval* ^r makes no more account of the Council of *Basil* than of the second of *Ephesus*, but *Bellarmin* ^s allows it to have been lawfull till the Deposition of *Eugenius*, though he advised 'that this Council should be left out of the *Roman* Edition as spurious.

^q Lib. 3. c. 7.

^s 4.

^r Ibid. p. 639.

^s Vid. Bellarm. de Concil. lib. 2.

^c 13, 17.

^r Ibid. p. 669.

2. 'Tis pretended of late that the Council of *Florence* does not set up the Pope above a General Council ^t; though the same Author tells us, that the Cardinal of *Lorraine* understood it otherwise in his *Commonitorium* to Pope *Pius* the Fourth ^v. For the Cardinal in the name of the whole *French* Clergy alledges this as the reason, why the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* are received in *France*, but that of *Florence* rejected, as neither Legal nor General, because in *France* 'tis held, that the Pope is subject to a General Council, and those who teach otherwise are accounted Hereticks: and he moreover affirms, that the *French* would sooner lose their lives, than depart from this Doctrine and admit of the Titles bestowed upon the Pope in the Council of *Florence*. And this is enough to ruine for ever the credit of the Council of *Florence* with sober men, whatever fine expositions may be now put upon it by some, that the whole *French* Nation declared against it, as neither Legal nor General.

^t Launoy Epist. Part. 3. ad Thom. Rulland.

^v Id. apud F. Wallis's Letter to the Bishop of Lincoln. p. 282.

The fifth
Council of
Lateran.
An. Dom.
MDXII.
The second
Council of
Pisa. MDXI.
* Richer.
Hist. Con.
Gen. Lib. 4.
Part. 1. c. 2.
p. 167.

§ XVI. 1. The last Council of *Lateran* is yet rather more obnoxious than that of *Florence*. For the second Council of *Pisa* was owned and defended as General by the *French*; and the *Sorbon* deputed three of their Body * to write against *Cajetan* on the point, viz. *Almain, Major*, and another, whose Book *Richerius* saw in Manuscript, besides the learned Discourse of *Philippus Decius*, which *Richerius* gives at large. This second Council held at *Pisa* was called by the Emperour and the King of *France*, and by the Pope himself, as far as the obligation of his most solemn Promise and Oath could contribute towards it; but the Pope would be held by no such Ties. The Council charge him with Perjury, the Pope tells them they are a company of Schismatics and Heretics, and they are not behind-hand with him, for in their complaint to *Maximilian*, they tell him, that of all the wicked things which had been wont to be done by Popes, there never was such a thing, as this, in which *Julius* had exceeded the worst of his own Actions, as well as of his Predecessours *, they charge him with breach of Promise and of his Oath, and make the greatest Villain of him that ever lived. *Quid enim jam in Christiana Republica deterius, quid perniciosius expectari potest, quam ipse Christi Vicarius?* "For what can be now expected worse, or more pernicious in the Christian Religion, than the Vicar of Christ himself? though they all this while give him the Title of *Sanctissimus*. *Julius* the Second had sworn to call a Council within two years, but refused to call it any where but at *Rome*, and thereupon appoints one in the *Lateran* to oppose this at *Pisa*. The Council of *Pisa* protest against these proceedings, and declare that *Julius* is of a violent and heady temper, and had such a force of Souldiers about him †, that they durst not venture thither, nor durst they so much as mention the calling of a Council, while they were at *Rome*; in fine, after a horrid charge and declaration of all his crimes, they proceed to suspend his Holiness, as they call him, in the very Act of Suspension.

† *Apolog.*
Conc. Pisani
ap. Richer.
L. 4. Part. 1.
c. 2.

2. 'Tis true, the King of *France* and all the *French* Clergy after the death of *Julius* renounced the Council of *Pisa*, and adhered to the fifth of *Lateran* under *Leo* the Tenth, but whether this were not more consistent with their Interest, than with their Principles, any man may see, that reads the Acts of the *French* Clergy afterwards, and considers that the *Pisan* Council proceeded

ded all along upon the Decrees of *Constance* and *Basil*, and that the abrogation of the *Pragmatick Sanction* in the Council of *Lateran* was but ill received at *Paris*, infomuch that the *Sorbon* made an Appeal against the *Concordate* in vindication of the Decrees of *Constance* and *Basil* and the whole Clergy of *France* appeal from the Pope in the Council of *Lateran*, *ad Papam melius consultum, & futurum Concilium Generale legitime congregandum**, "to a Pope better advised, and to a future Council which should be lawfully assembled.

* Richer.
Hist. l. 4.
Part. 2.
c. 1. § 8.
p. 25.

3. Here we have the *French* Clergy first maintaining the Council of *Pisa*, and then renouncing it, ——— *denique Protestatur se nomine totius Ecclesie Gallicane tum Ecclesiasticorum tum Secularium, cujuscumque sint gradus, status & dignitatis, qui in Pisana interfuerunt Congregatione, obtemperando mandatis Apostolicis & Regis Franciæ exhortationibus, Pisano conventui jam dissoluto renuciare, & Laterano Concilio adharere*, ——— "and at last they protest in the name of the whole Gallican Church, as well Ecclesiasticks as Seculars, of whatsoever degree, state and dignity they are, who were in the Assembly at *Pisa*, that now in obedience to the Apostolical commands, and the King of *France*'s exhortations, they renounce the Assembly at *Pisa*, and stand by the *Lateran* Council; this was *May* the fifth, *MDCXVII*. They renounce the Council of *Lateran* and appeal to another, when nothing new, that appears, had happened in either of the Councils, to make this alteration: for that of *Pisa* proceeded always upon the same grounds, and alledged the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil* in its justification; that of *Lateran* drove the same course under *Julius* the Second, and *Leo* the Tenth, as the *French* Clergy say in their Appeal from it, onely the necessity of the King's Affairs forced him to yield, and his whole Clergy with him. But if the acknowledging or disclaiming of Councils be onely a matter of state, and changeable with every turn of Affairs, 'tis easie to see how much certainty we can have of a Council's being General, when in the space of three years the Council of *Pisa* shall be General, and then disavowed by the very Members of it, and another received in its stead, and then this as much disclaimed as the former; and that of *Pisa* shall afterwards be again owned in derogation to the *Lateran* Council, and published out of the *French* King's Library with the special Privilege of his most Christian Majesty, *MDCXII*.

|| De Concil.
lib. 2. c. 13.

4. Bellarmin himself || seems to confess that there is some reason to doubt of the Authority of this last Council of *Lateran*, and *Duwall* in his Book *De Suprema Potestate Papæ* against *Vigorius*, *Richerius* and others that deny its Authority, durst not be positive in the main difficulty concerning the Bull of *Leo* the Tenth, how far and to what that obligeth, but, as *Richerius* observes ^a, plays Childrens sport, he builds Castles with Nutshells, and then plucks them down again.

^a Ibid. p. 48.

^b Du Pin.

Dissert. 6.

p. 430.

^c New Heresie, p. 103.

5. There were scarce eighty in it in all, of which about sixty onely were Bishops, and of these a great part *Italians*, and none from *France*, nor ^b no Embassadour. It was composed, says the Advocate of Parliament ^c, of a few *Italian* Bishops, who had no other aim but the ruine of our Canonical Elections, and against which the *French* have always protested, as it is to be seen by the History of the *Concordate* by M. *Du Puy*.

C. of Trent,
An. Dom.
MDXLV.

§ XVII. 1. We are come at last to the famous decreeing, reforming, defining Council of *Trent*, which is so well known, that very little needs here be said of it. The *French* Clergy, it must be confessed, and all others who maintain the Pope to be subject to a General Council, are extremely obliged to Pope *Pius* the Fourth: for, if we believe Cardinal *Pallavicini*, and the *Guide in Controversies* who says it after him, that Pope had nine parts of ten in the Council ready to vote the Pope superiour to a General Council, and yet suffered the Controversie to continue as it was. And indeed the Pope, if he had found no other restraints upon him, but what were in the Council might have done his pleasure in any thing: for there were *CLXXXVII*. *Italians*, and but *LXXXIII*. of other Nations, so that the *Italians* exceeded all other Nations besides by *CIV*. a small number to secure a casting Vote, who then can deny, that the Pope was infallible in the Council of *Trent*, and was absolutely certain to gain his point?

^a Gerbais
de Causis
Majoribus,
p. 347.

2. But I shall onely observe, that the Decrees of Reformation are not in force to this day in *France*, because they are thought to encroach upon the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church: and therefore whenever ^d the Assembly of the Clergy or Kingdom of *France* have dealt with the King about the Reception and Publication of that Council, they have always put in an Exception to reserve the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church entire.

And

And in the * *Low Countries* when *Margaret Dutcheſs of Parma*, * *Id.* p. 348. then Governes there, required the Magiſtrates of every Province to make ſearch, whether any thing in the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* were contrary to the Rights of his Catholick Maieſty, or to the ancient cuſtoms of their Countrey, they animadverted upon ſeveral Chapters, particularly upon *C. 5. ſeſſ. 24.* (which the *French* likewise particularly except againſt) and they ſaid it was an Innovation, and the King might inſiſt upon his Ancient Right.

3. I think nothing can be a greater Evidence, that this Council was not General than the oppoſition of National Churches in behalf of their particular Privileges in points of Reformation: for a General Council may undoubtedly preſcribe to particular Churches in matters of Diſcipline, as the firſt General Councils did, and oblige them to a compliance for the peace and benefit of the whole, and the Council muſt be judge what is moſt conducing to that end. To deny this Authority to a General Council is plainly to lay its Authority quite aſide, and to receive one-ly as much of it as particular Churches ſhall think fit: for it were an extravagant thing to demand abſolute obedience and ſubmiſſion in matters of Faith, when points of Diſcipline are inſiſted upon againſt the expreſs Decrees of the Council: a Council may err in Doctrin, but if it have any Authority, this muſt extend at leaſt to points of Diſcipline, which are in themſelves indifferent, and may be altered, as it ſhall ſeem moſt conducing to the good of the whole Church.

* *Conſtantine* after the Council of *Nice* not onely determined the Controverſie againſt *Arius*, but the time of keeping of *Eaſter*, and other things of Order and Diſcipline, to which all Churches ſubmitted, whatever eager Debates they had had amongſt themſelves before. The erecting the Churches of *Conſtantinople* and *Jeruſalem* into Patriarchates, and the ſettling of Church-Government was performed in the four firſt General Councils, yet nothing was objected againſt the Authority of Councils in ſuch Affairs, nor did the Churches placed under the Patriarchates of *Jeruſalem* and *Conſtantinople* inſiſt upon their particular Privileges; onely

* Τύτων μὲν ὅτις ἐξήλθον, ἀ-
σκήσαντες Νίχαδον καὶ τὸ Θεὸν χεῖν, καὶ
δείσαντες ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ πᾶν
εἰ πὶ δ' αὖ ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις ἡ
ἐκείνων συνέδοσις περὶ τῆς, τῶτο
πρὸς τὸ δείσαν βίβλησιν ἔχει τὸ ἀνα-
φορῶν, διὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρχιερεῶσι καὶ
ἀλλοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τὰ πνευμα-
τικὰ ἡδὲ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ λόγον, καὶ
τὸ παρατήρησιν τῆς ἀμεινότητος ἡμῶ-
ρας, ἀποδείχοντες τὸ καὶ διατελεῖν
ἐκείνης. Euseb. de Vita Constau-
tini. lib. 3. cap. 20.

onely the Church of *Rome* was unwilling to have *Constantinople* equalled to her self, and therefore made a troublesome but fruitless opposition in the Council of *Chalcedon*.

4. But if at this day the Church of *France* be so jealous of her Privileges in matters of Discipline, we have much more reason to be carefull of the Privileges of our common Christianity in matters of Faith; if she insist that her Bishops have Authority to decide the *Causa Majores*, i. e. all Debates arising, whether in matters of Faith or Discipline, according to the Decrees of General Councils; how can it be denied us to defend the Ancient Faith according to General Councils truly such? if they reject the Decrees of Reformation, how shall we subscribe Pope *Pius's* Creed? nay how shall they subscribe it? not by virtue of any obligation from this Church but because they otherwise think the Articles of it True; and for the contrary reason we cannot subscribe them because we think them false: so that the Authority of the Council of *Trent* is really laid aside on both hands, and the merits of the cause must be the onely thing in Debate. For to say that a General Council properly speaking cannot abridge a particular Church of her Privileges, is to say that a particular Church is above a General Council, or at least exempt from its Jurisdiction. This is well enough understood at *Rome* where *Gerbais's* Book in defence of the *Gallican* Privileges is condemned.

§ XVIII. I have done now with their Councils; and have shewn how far Papists themselves have been from thinking them infallible, or from acknowledging most of them to be General, whatever credit they may have gained by the ignorance and superstition of latter Ages, when every Assembly of Bishops greater than ordinary was esteemed a General Council, and every General Council voted it self infallible. For 'tis certain that in the most ignorant Ages, they first fancied themselves infallible, and then took the liberty to say and doe what they thought fit, and so imposed many superstitious conceits and gainfull Projects on the world for infallible Truths. It now remains onely to consider, whether we can meet with any better satisfaction from the consent of the present *Roman* Church, and to enquire whether there be any expedient to reconcile these differences concerning the Authority of their several Councils:

cils : But here we are so far at a loss, that we find them in nothing more disagreeing, than in the very Fundamental Point, upon which all the Authority of Councils depends ; and so disagreeing in this, they must be at an eternal disagreement concerning the Councils themselves. For some making the Pope above a General Council, others a General Council above the Pope, and a third sort making them co-ordinate ; those that place infallibility in the Pope alone, have little reason to regard a Council ; and those that place it in a Council alone, do upon occasion as little respect the Pope, or judge of General Councils by *Bellarmin's* Rule, and seek no farther than for the Pope's confirmation ; but those that think it is in neither separately, can acquiesce in the Determinations neither of Pope nor Council, unless they both concur unanimously in their Determinations ; and whoever make the Church diffusive to be the Judge of what Councils are General, and what are not so, are still at a wider difference from all the rest.

§ XIX. Our English Papists seem generally to be of the last Opinion, placing the Authority of the Church in the Agreement of the Pope with a General Council, but making the Authority of General Councils to depend upon the Reception of the Church diffusive, hereby placing the Authority, *Executively*, onely in General Councils confirmed by the Pope, but *fundamentally and radically* in the Church, upon whose Approbation all depends, but by Church they understand onely the governing part of it, and such as would have had a right to vote, if they had been assembled in Council. This is the Doctrine advanced in the Book so much valued by our English Papists, *The Guide in Controversies*, and because this way has most Artifice and Amusement in it, they are willing to put the issue here, though most of their Priests must needs have great Prejudices against it from a foreign Education : For the *French* are of the second opinion, and the Pope with all his Adherents of the first.

How well the *Guide's* Hypothesis has been accepted abroad, I am not able to say ; but it will be best guessed at by the contest that has been about the two other opinions, whether the Parties seem inclinable to admit of the *Guide* as a *Reconciler*.

§ XX. The *Jesuites* are for no less than a Personal Infallibility in the Pope, and that in matters of Fact. This is the Dispute so hotly debated of late years between them and the *Jansenists*. For the Pope having condemned five Propositions in a Posthumous Book of *Jansenius*, entituled *Augustinus*, Forms were drawn up to be subscribed under pain of Excommunication, though the Propositions could no where be found in that Book. But as the Flatterers of the Court of *Rome* first raised the Pope above a General Council to secure him against the Reformation in *Capite & Membris*, which the other Bishops have so often required, so the *Jesuites* have extended his Infallibility yet farther, even to matters of Fact, and so whatever he determines must be right in all cases. It was upon these grounds, that Subscription was to be made to the five Propositions by the Seculars and by the Regulars of both Sexes, and was enforced not onely by the Pope, but by the *Gallican Church*. Notwithstanding, certain Divines, and the Nuns of the *Port Royal* refused to make the Subscription enjoyned, not that they made any scruple of the Doctrine it self, which they were required to acknowledge, but because the contrary to it was no where to be found in the Book condemned, but the Pope, they said, had been imposed upon by those who pretended to have taken the Propositions out of that Book. Hereupon arose a Controversie concerning the Infallibility of the Church and of the Pope, the *Jesuits* maintaining that the Pope cannot be mistaken in a matter of Fact, and that therefore the Propositions are in that Book: whatever ordinary Readers may think of it, his Holiness has determined so, and he cannot be mistaken. For they^f make no scruple to assert, that the Pope is as infallible in matters of Fact, as our Saviour himself, that he saw with the eyes of the Church, as they phrase it, and discovered those Propositions by the illumination of the Holy Ghost. This is but what the *Jesuites* maintained in that famous Thesis of Decemb. 12. MDCLXI. in the College of *Clermont* as a Catholick Truth repugnant to the *Greek Heresie* concerning the Primacy of the Pope, viz. That Jesus Christ hath given to all Popes, whenever they shall speak *à Cathedra*, the same infallibility himself had, both in matters of Right and of Fact. The Nuns of the *Port Royal*, and all others that refused to sign the Formulary wherein the five Propositions

^a Les Imaginaires & les Visionnaires, & la Traité de la foy humaine. Oſa-vo à Cologne 1683. p. 81, 86, 88.

of *Janſenius* are condemned, were used with great severity, and the Archbishop of *Paris* would not be dissuaded from imposing the Subscription. But however the Church of *France* might stand affected towards the Pope at that time and in that affair, yet the opinion against the Pope's Infallibility is so generally maintained in that Church, that it is almost peculiar to it, and is termed ⁸ by the *Jesuites*, *Sententia Parisiensis*, A.D. MDCLXXXII. the *French* Clergy in a Synod held at *Paris* determined that a General Council is above the Pope, according to the Decrees of the fourth and fifth Sessions of the Council of *Constance*. Against this Determination *Emanuel à Schellstrate*, the present *Vatican* Library-keeper wrote a Book printed at *Antwerp*, An. Dom. MDCLXXXIII. wherein he endeavours to shew from ancient Manuscripts, that those Decrees of the Council of *Constance*, which have passed so long upon the World for authentick, and were so often approved and confirmed in the Council of *Basil*, are notwithstanding false; and he sticks not to affirm, that they were partly falsified by the Council of *Basil*, and partly obtruded upon the Council of *Constance*, against the consent of a great number in it, and in the absence of others, and so have been imposed upon the Church ever since in so many Editions and by so many Licences and Approbations, particularly by the Bull of *Paul* the Fifth, before the *Roman* Edition of the Councils, and had the good luck never to be discovered by any before himself, when he now sets himself to oppose the Determination of the *French* Clergy.

⁸ New Heresie of the *Jesuites*, p. 79.

2. But *M. Schellstrate* is not the onely man that opposed the *Gallican* Church in this Controversie. For *George Szelepechemy* Archbishop of *Gran* and Primate of *Hungary* put forth his Synodical Letter containing a Censure of the four Propositions, in which ^h is this assertion, *Ad solam sedem Apostolicam divino immutabili privilegio spectat, de controversiis Fidei judicare*, "It onely belongs to the Apostolick See, by a Divine immutable Privilege, to judge of Controversies in the Faith. And he, with his Bishops were so zealous in the defence of that Doctrine, that they profess in the conclusion they would spend the last drop of their Blood, rather than depart in the least from it. This Proposition *Jan. 30. MDCLXXXIII.* the Parliament of *Paris* delivered to *M. Edmund Pirot* Syndick of the Faculty, to be examined, which when the Faculty had received from him, on the first of *February* they

^h Vide Notam in Censur. Hungaricam, 4. proposition. Cleri Gallicani apud Edm. Richer. Vindictis Doctrin. major. Schol. Paris.

chose certain of their body to study and consider the Point, and then after due deliberation to give their Judgment upon it. This they did *March* the first, and afterwards, for three months together, in their several Assemblies, which were no less than forty five in number, the Question was propounded to be disputed upon; and when they had by this means thoroughly debated and concluded the Controversie, they declared, That the Proposition, as it excludes Bishops and General Councils from that Authority which they have immediately from *Christ* in judging in matters of Faith is rash, erroneous, contrary to the practice of the Church and to the Word of God, as well as to the constant Doctrine of the Faculty. This answer the Faculty of the *Sorbon* gave to the question *May* the eighteenth, and then reviewing it the day following, confirmed it moreover from the several Censures which had been formerly passed by their Body in this and former Ages upon such Tenets. Thus that Reverend and Learned Societyⁱ made the most deliberate and solemn determination that could be possibly made in any case. But the controversy would not end here: for another Authour under the name of *Eugenius Lombardus* took the Propositions into Examination *MDCLXXXV.* and in contradiction to them asserts, that the Pope has Authority to depose Kings, that he is above a General Council, that he is Infallible when he determines *à Cathedra*, that he can dispense with Oaths and Vows made to God Almighty. And the same year *M. Maimbourg* answered *M. Schelstrate*, but *Schelstrate* replied the year following, and so the dispute is still depending, unless we can suppose the defence of such a Cause should dye with *Maimbourg*, and no body else should be found to defend the *Roman-catholick* Church of *France* against the *Catholick* Church of *Rome*. *Schelstrate* quotes Nine Manuscripts of the Council of *Constance*, and *Maimbourg* Ten; and, which is very surprizing, the Manuscripts on both sides have all the Appearance of being Authentick which can be desired, if we may believe one of our own Church, who is a very able Judge in those matters: But *Maimbourg* has out quoted him by one, and whether it be in confidence of this odds, or for some other reason, he is positive, that the Decrees of a General Council are valid without the confirmation of the Pope.

ⁱ Censura sacrae Facultatis Theolog. Paris. ad datum Senatui responsum, data in propositionem de qua ille quaesierat, quid ipsa sentiret. Parisiis, 1683.

§ XXII. Thus we see that notwithstanding the glorious pretensions to Unity and the Advantages of an Infallible Church so much magnified, the divisions concerning Infallibility are so many and so great, that it is onely a fine pompous thing, that may serve them to boast of, but is otherwise of no use. For we have at this day the *Jesuites* against the *Jansenists*; *M. Schellstrate* against *M. Maimbourg*; and *Nine Manuscripts* against *Ten*; the Archbishop of *Gran* against the Archbishop of *Paris*; and the Synod of *Hungary* against that of *France*. Amidst so much opposition, how shall we hope to find any agreement? The grand Debate between these two contending Parties is, whether the Pope or a General Council should have the Preheminence? There is but one way more of disagreement possible in this matter; which is, that neither Pope nor Council is superiour, but that the joint Definitions of both are infallible: this way the *Guide in Controversies* and his Followers here in *England* take. If the nature of the thing would admit any more differences of opinion, they would undoubtedly be as numberless as they are opposite, in a dispute which has so much of Prejudice and Interest, and so little of Reason or Scripture in it. Neither is there any way to reconcile these contrary Doctrines, unless they would all conclude in that, which they all help to prove, *viz.* *That there is no such thing as an Infallible Judge or Guide here on Earth.* The Pope in the mean while, whom one would think it most concerns to interpose his Authority and decide the difference, yet sits by as Neuter, countenancing and encouraging the one, but not by any Authoritative Act disavowing the other opinion: And indeed how is it possible for him by his Authority to decide the Controversie, when his Authority is the very thing in controversie?

When, I say, there is no way besides of disagreement possible in this matter, I speak onely of the Point now before us, and would not be thought by any means to exclude the Infallibility of Oral Tradition, nor the Infallibility of the Church diffusive, including every member of it, nor any other Infallibility, which can be named, but these are disliked as much by Papists abroad as they are by Protestants at home, and are utterly inconsistent with the Authority of Councils.

§ XXIII. From what has been said, I suppose it evident, that General Councils cannot be relied upon as Infallible, if there were no other reason against it but this, that it is so uncertain and doubtfull which Councils are General. And I can foresee nothing that can be objected against this Consequence, but that the Council of *Trent* comprehends all the rest, and is instead of All. Which indeed magnifies the Council of *Trent* very much, but is not so much for the credit of all the General Councils before it; for, besides that the Council of *Trent* grounds many of her Definitions upon the Authority of General Councils that went before, I conceive that all who lived three hundred years ago were as much concerned to know what Councils were General as any Body can be at this day, and an Infallibility which could be of little or no use till since the Council of *Trent* is something suspicious, unless we had better proof than the Authority of that Council to recommend it. I have shewn that that Council it self is not received in *France* as a General Council, but onely its Doctrines acknowledged for true, as they were acknowledged, they tell us, before the Councils sitting: for any thing farther they desire to be excused. And how can that Council be General enough to be Infallible, which is not so far General as to oblige a particular Church in points of Discipline? 'Tis apparent from the account I have given of them, that we have but the four or almost but the six first General Councils without Exceptions, and those most of them very considerable too, so that when all is done, we have no reason that I can see, not to be contented with our ancient Creeds, and the Councils of the first Ages which have been acknowledged by all, because they teach the Faith necessary to the Salvation of all, while others who have taught some particular fancies, have found a suitable reception.

§ XXIV. But if all the eighteen Councils were as General as they are pretended to be, yet it is no good Consequence, that they are infallible. I could never yet see any Grounds from Antiquity to believe the Infallibility of General Councils: I am sure *St. Austin* * could believe no such thing, when he affirms, that later General Councils may correct the Errors of the former in that known place. Nor *Gregory the Great* ¹, who equals the

* *De Baptismo contra Donatistas*, lib. 2. cap. 3.

¹ *Lib. 1. Epist. 14.*

the four first General Councils to the four Gospels, but none be-
fides, and thereby puts a manifest difference between General
Councils, and so could not hold all to be infallible. If we meet
with high Expressions in the Fathers concerning the extraordi-
nary assistance of the Holy Ghost in General Councils, I know
no man but will acknowledge it, if they say, that the Holy
Spirit did effectually guide them in the Truth, this is no more
than we always profess to be believe, that the First Councils
did determine Infallible Truths, and so were not mistaken in
their Determinations, but it is but an ill consequence to say,
that they could not be mistaken, because they were not, or that
all succeeding Councils cannot possibly err, because the first
Councils actually did not err.

§ XXV. It is not pretended that General Councils are Infal-
lible in matters of Discipline, yet I am confident many Ex-
pressions of the Ancients run as high for these as for matters of
Faith. The first Council that ever was, that of the Apostles
themselves, *Act. xv.* was about matters of Discipline; and, as
the Apostles there write, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to
us*, so the following Councils were persuaded they had imme-
diate directions from the Holy Ghost in things of this nature,
which made the Emperour *Constantine the Great* and the Coun-
cil of *Nice* it self urge the uniform observation of *Easter* in the
same Terms and from the same Arguments that they used to en-
force the *Nicene Creed*. And afterwards *Leo the First*, writing
against the twenty eighth Canon of *Chalcedon*, insists, that it
contradicted the Constitution of *Nice*, which was ordained by
the Holy Ghost.

*Tanquam re-
futari neque-
at, quod illuci-
tè voluerit
multitudo, &
illa Niceno-*

rum Canonum per Spiritum verò Sanctum ordinata conditio in aliqua unquam parte sit solubilis,
(*Leo Epist. ad Anatol.*) ——— *in omnibus Ecclesiis huius Legibus obsequentes, qua ad pacificati-*
onem omnium Sacerdotum per CCCVIII. Antistes Spiritus Sanctus instituit, (idem ad Pulcheriam.)

§ XXVI. I. For my part, I cannot but think it a great pre-
sumption to imagin, that the Councils of latter times should
equal those of the primitive Ages. For as the Ancients had greater
advantages than after Ages could have, to know what the
Apostles taught, and how they explained their own Writings
by their private Discourses and their Sermons, and by their
Prac-

Practice: so methinks it is highly reasonable to suppose that they had greater assistences from above. For it seems requisite and agreeable to God's methods of transacting with mankind, to afford eminent abilities to instruct men fully in Christianity, to those on whom he bestowed a power of working Miracles to convince the World of the Truth of it; and we must in reason conclude their Wisdom in understanding the Scriptures, as well as their Miracles to attest it, and their Courage and Patience in suffering for it to have been supernatural. This cannot be denied of the Apostles themselves: And as it pleased God not to let Miracles cease till he had raised up men of great Parts and Learning to undertake the Defence of his Religion, so we have the same reason to believe that he would not till then wholly withdraw his extraordinary Gifts and Illuminations; for these seem to have been as necessary against the many and pernicious Heresies so early sprung, as those to vindicate it against Infidels. We may well allow greater force to the Assertions of St. Clement, St. Ignatius, St. Irenaeus, &c. than their Arguments may seem to carry, because they may have more of a Divine Spirit in them than we are aware of, and so upon that account challenge a higher regard from us, than upon the score onely of their Reasonings. We must indeed still keep to the Analogy of Faith, but why should we too confidently make our selves Judges of their ways of arguing, especially from Figures and Allegories? who would have known that the ^a *Rock in the wilderness* was *Christ*, unless St. Paul had told him so? or, who would have understood the Allegory ^b of the two Sons of *Abraham*, unless he had explained it? How can we be assured, that St. Paul and the rest of the Apostles, did not explain many more Types and make many more Allegorical Proofs than we have delivered to us in the Scriptures? 'Tis more than probable they did, in so many Sermons to the *Jews* always arguing from the Old Testament, instructed herein by our Saviour himself and by the Holy Ghost after his Ascension, as their Followers and immediate Successours likewise were. How then can we be assured but many of those Allegorical Interpretations which some men presume to set so light by, might be the Interpretations of the Apostles themselves or of the Holy Ghost in these Apostolical men, as they have been justly styled? Those I mean delivered down by primitive Antiquity, made use of in all succeeding

^a 1 Cor. 10.

^b Galat. 4.

ceeding Ages, till men began to be so exceeding wise as to despise them.

2. But as the Authority of Apostolical Traditions could reach no farther than the first Ages, so in succeeding times we have little reason to think that the Holy Ghost had much to do in their Councils; Christ himself seems to have been almost excluded, since *Christ's Vicar*, as he styles himself, has had such an absolute sway in Councils. *Si dixerit aliquis, fiet recursus ad Sedem & Curiam Summi Pontificis, non negabimus hoc, si Theologia illic habuerit duos Doctores non partiales, non seductos, non fastuosos, non quatuor aut invidios, non potestati seculari, non spirituali, plus quam veritati studentes, alioquin tolerabilis esset nullos habere quam tales patres* *.

* Gerson apud Richer. l. 2. p. 262.

"If any one shall say, there must be recourse to the See and Court of the High Priest, we will not deny it, if Divinity shall have there two impartial Doctours, not seduced, not proud, not covetous or envious, not favourers of the temporal and spiritual Power, more than of the Truth; otherwise it would be more tolerable to have none, than to endure such. Upon which *Richerius* cries out; *Deus Bone! Si nostra vidisset secula, quibus malum in immensum per singulos dies ita excrevit, ut semper posterior dies acerbior & nequior priore existeret & contineret*. "Good God! Had he but seen our times, where- in the mischief encreases so vastly every day, that the latter days have always been sharper and worse than the former, and shall always continue so. And this is to be understood, not onely of Discipline, but of Faith and Manners. † *Vide* † *Ibid.* p. 260.

quod in Doctrinis, qua Fidem, qua Religionem, qua bonos & salubres respiciunt Mores, vix invenietur in hac tempestate, rebus ut sunt manentibus, nec habito forti favore potentia secularis, terminatio debita, vel expedita justitia; Experto crede, &c. "I see (says *Gerson*) that in those Doctrines which have regard to the Faith, to Religion, to good and wholesome Manners, there will scarce be found at this time, as things stand, though we should be backt by strong assistences of the secular Power, either a just determination, or speedy justice. Believe a man who has tryed it; &c. Such have been the Complaints of good men concerning the Generality of the Popish Clergy, and are still in our days, especially concerning all those that challenge the Governing part in Councils. "I wish, says *Dr. Holden*, with all my heart, that with the loss of my Blood, I could blot out of the Belief of all experi-

* Holden's Lett. in Walsh's Irish Remonstr. p. 524.

"enced

“enced men, that nothing but Interest and Faction are prevalent in the Court of *Rome*, we need not insist upon the gross Ignorance of former Ages, when the leading men, as we have seen in *Pius* the Second, *Cusanus* and others, employed all their knowledge and cunning to uphold a Faction, which made them go off from one Party to another, as their Interest served, and use all the arts and ways of management which are wont to be used in secular affairs.

3. This quite breaks the force of the Argument that is most troublesome to a modest man, that he should oppose his own judgment and the judgments of some few others perhaps, in comparison to the Determination of so many Bishops met in Council; we need but go to *Nich. Clemanges* Works, to *Espercaeus* upon the Epist. to *Titus*, to the *Centum Gravamina*, to an entire Collection of Discourses to this purpose, called *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum*, or to the History of the Council of *Trent*, or to the *Concilium Delectorum Cardinalium* to get rid of this Argument, which is so plausibly urged by the *Guide*, and runs through all his Discourses: for if men will so apparently transgress all the measures of Right and Wrong, we have no reason to confide much in them about what is True and False, when it is so much for their Interest to uphold the opinion of Infallibility, which implies Industry and Abilities as well as Integrity. * *Melchior Canus* asserts that Councils as well as Popes may err, unless they take care to use all due means in examining the Doctrines defined: That Councils have sometimes acted by Interest and Design is confessed on both hands; the onely Question is, what and how many these Councils have been. He says indeed, that as for himself, he will never admit that any Pope or Council has not used all necessary diligence in determining Questions of Faith: But what matter is it, what he will admit, unless he will answer his own Arguments? if he will admit the Premises and deny the Conclusion, what is that to us? others of his Communion will own that Popes have erred *à Cathedra*, and he owns, that *Honorius* and other Popes have erred in matters of Faith: now 'tis but carrying the Argument one step farther (*subsumit omnino causa eadem*) and General Councils may err in their Definitions as well as Popes. His words, which are very remarkable, are these; “So that we are not to look upon those as the Judgments of the Apostolick See, which are made in private, “maliti-

* *Loci Theologici*, lib. 5.
cap. 5.

“maliciously or inconsiderately by the Pope alone, or by some
 “few of his Party; but those which appear to have been first
 “well examined, and by the advice of several wise Men: Now
 “we have *the very same Reasons*, to say the like of Councils, if
 “there be the same cause for it: for we ought not to think that
 “the Pope onely should be mistaken when he is asleep, and
 “should speak the truth when he is awake: and that the Fa-
 “thers of a Council alone should go on right sleeping or waking,
 “and that they should discern difficulties with their Eyes shut
 “or in the dark. It is an usual thing, believe me, for *all the*
 “*Judges of the Church*, when they publish their Decrees, to be
 “driven on by a certain rashness and suddenness of Judgment,
 “as by a wind, so that they effect nothing which may be loo-
 “ked upon as solid, grave or certain.

Clemangis is yet sharper; “*Upon whom shall my Spirit rest, but* Disputat. su-
 “*upon the humble man and him who trembles at my Word?* But if (as per mater.
 “our Lord bears witness) it onely rests upon those, then accor- Conc. General.
 “ding to the temper of this Age, there are in all probability in Fasciculo
 “but few such in our Councils. There are usually in every Af- rerum expet.
 “sembly great numbers of carnal or worldly Men, ambitious & fugiend.
 “and contentious Men, swelling with that humane knowledge pag. 200. E.
 “which puffs up; see therefore the necessity of believing that
 “the Holy Spirit has always the upper-hand in Councils, when
 “the minds of the Consulters always resist, and put a bar to
 “any thing which might produce sounder and more saving ef-
 “fects; especially since the Decrees of Councils proceed for
 “the most part from the *major* part of the concurring Votes:
 “This I speak not positively, but by way of Inquiry, &c.

But, says Bellarmin, it is a sufficient evidence that a Council
 has not erred, if the Pope has confirmed it, and his Confirmati-
 on is the *Criterion* of a truly General Council, or rather of Infal-
 libility; for Councils whether general or particular, in Bellar-
 min's ^d account cannot err, if the Pope has once confirmed
 them. But first, Popes have confirmed Councils which are
 not acknowledged to be General, as we have seen of the Coun-
 cils of *Constance* and *Basil*; nay, *Liberius* confirmed the Council
 of *Sirmium* which was Heretical. Secondly, This involves us
 yet in farther Difficulties: for these Men, who hold, that with-
 out the Pope's Confirmation no Councils can be legitimate, or
 of sufficient Authority to propose Articles of Faith, are brought

^d De Concil.
 Auctoritate,
 lib. 2. cap. 54.

Vid. Francisc.
Long. Coriol.
Prelud. ad
Conc. Cy
Carleton. cur-
sus Theolog.
Tom. poster.
Disp. 22. §. 3.

* De Concili-
is, lib. 1. cap. 8.

to this, that they assert it to be *De Fide*, that the present Pope, whoever he be, is Christ's true Vicar, and Successour to Saint Peter, which is the general opinion of the *Jesuits*. But how this could be *De Fide*, when there were so many Antipopes for about seventy years together, or how any Council can be known to be General upon these Grounds is impossible to understand, since if there should be any defect in his Baptism, either as to the Form or the Intention of the Priest, or if any thing should be amiss in his Election or Consecration, he is by a constitution of *Nicholas* the Second, by a Bull of *Pius* the Fourth, and by a plain and necessary Consequence from their own avowed Principles, not a Pope, but an Invader, and is to be anathematized and withstood by all Christian People. The *French King* would not acknowledge *Clement* the Seventh for Pope, till the Cardinals who chose him, had sworn, that they proceeded canonically, which yet would not satisfy the University of *Paris* and the *French Clergy*. And *Bellarmin** confesses, that it is doubtful whether the first Council of *Pisa*, MCCCXCIX. which deposed *Gregory* the Twelfth, and *Benedict* the Thirteenth, and elected *Alexander* the Fifth, were approved or not: but if it had been certainly rejected, *Alexander* the Sixth would certainly have styled himself, not *Alexander* the Sixth, but the Fifth. And it is, besides says he, almost the common opinion that *Alexander* the Fifth and *John* who succeeded him were true Popes. However of the Three Pretenders to the Popedom, these were most generally owned for such. So that if a man can extend his Faith in such an intricate business to all the circumstances requisite to the making a Pope duly qualified for the confirmation of a Council, he can have no reason to make the least scruple of whatever the Council delivers, and so may as well take the Councils word, and never stay for the Popes confirmation.

However the Infallibility of Councils resolves itself into the Infallibility of Confessours at last, and every private man believes as much and no more of Councils than his Confessor thinks fit to acquaint him with; and since the *Jesuits* have every where almost that office, the Councils are generally received as they have put them forth, and understood as they explain them, and will be so received and understood though these I have mentioned, or a thousand more objections lye against every one of them.

ADDEN-

A D D E N D A.

Page 10. line 14. before Cardinal Contarini add; And as the form of the Profession of Faith in the Council of *Constance*. (Session 39.) mentions but eleven General Councils in all, so it gives higher respect to the first eight than to the rest, and takes no notice of any more than one of *Lateran*, and one of *Lyons*: *Ego N. electus in Papam omnipotentis Deo, cuius Ecclesiam suo presidio regendam suscipio, & beato Petro Apostolorum Principi, corde & ore profiteor, quam diu in hac fragili vita constitutus fuero, me firmiter credere & tenere sanctam fidem Catholicam secundum Traditiones Apostolorum & aliorum sanctorum Patrum, maxime autem sanctorum octo Conciliorum generalium, viz. primi Nicæni, secundi Constantinopolitani, tertii Ephesini, quarti Calchedonensis, quinti & sexti Constantinopolitanorum, septimi item Nicæni, octavi quoque Constantinopolitani; necnon Lateranensis, Lugdunensis & Viennensis, Generalium etiam Conciliorum. Et illam fidem usque ad unum apicem, &c.*

Page 36. line 15. after *none of the three*, add; and at the end of the Fourth *Lateran*, *Caranza* puts *Explicit Concilium Lateranense primum.*

Page 42. line 10. leave out from except the forty sixth, to *Churches or Churchmen*, line 17. in the room thereof add, though it is not probable that that Council should be quoted at large under the name of the General Council of the *Lateran*, without some particular note of distinction, either of the Popes name under whom it was called, or of the third *Lateran* Council; for this is the usual way in Citations, and had been necessary here to distinguish it from the other two *Lateran* Councils; but if we suppose these Canons drawn up by *Innocent the Third*, after the Dissolution of the Council, there could be no need of particularizing the Council which had been so lately held by himself: and he could be reasonably understood to mean no other than his own Council, unless he had specified it; But farther yet, &c.

Page 66. lin. ult. But Mr. *Schellstrate* has one Argument which indeed is extraordinary, in that it makes a remarkable discovery of

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of the Artifices of the Court of *Rome*; for he assured the same Person, that at the *very same time* in which the necessity of their Affairs obliged P. *Martin* to confirm the Decrees of the Council of *Basil*, he contrived a secret Bull, which in another Age might be made use of, to weaken the Authority of the general Confirmation; and withall, Mr. *Schelsfrate* promised him a sight of the original of this Bull.

Page 50. lin. 27. after *Bishop of Rome*, add; Though indeed he did revoke it as to its Exercise in the Kingdom of *France*, by declaring, that the Privileges of the *Gallican* Church were no ways infringed by it: *Inter Extravag. cap. Mervit, tit. de Privilegiis.*

C O R R I G E N D A.

Pag. 3. lin. 3. for, before Labbé, and the *Acts* of the second Council are omitted by him too, read, before Binius, and the *Acts* of the second Council of *Pisa* are omitted by Labbé too. p. 4. l. 5. marg. for c. 6. r. c. 7. p. 669. p. 6. l. 2. Buxhornius, r. Boxbornius. p. 10. l. 35. the quotation of *Launoy* should be set against *Abraham Cretensis*. p. 12. l. 29. r. make them so, these. p. 15. l. 31. r. young son *Constantine*. p. 18. l. 12. r. appear. p. 20. l. 10. r. *Deifica*. p. 27. l. 14. dele; p. 29. l. 9. r. why he ought. p. 30. l. 14. dele own. p. 48. l. 18. r. *Emperours*, to explain. *ibid.* l. 34. for recalling, r. reconciling. p. 50. l. 26. for accessory, r. necessary. p. 52. l. 11. marg. r. cap. 3. p. 54. l. 38. marg. r. cap. 4. p. 62. l. 14. for *Church*, r. *Council*. p. 68. l. 24. almost, r. at the most.

T H E E N D.

